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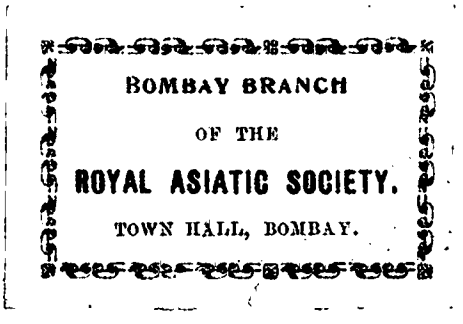

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THE

LIFE

OF

MARY, QUEEN OF SCOTS.

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Mary Queen of Scots

Literary Society of Bombay

THE

LIFE

OF

MARY, QUEEN OF SCOTS;

DRAWN FROM THE STATE PAPERS.

WITH

SIX SUBSIDIARY MEMOIRS.

ILLUSTRATED WITH

TEN PLATES OF MEDALS, PORTRAITS, AND PROSPECTS.

BY GEORGE CHALMERS, F.R.S. S.A.

IN TWO VOLUMES.

VOL. I.

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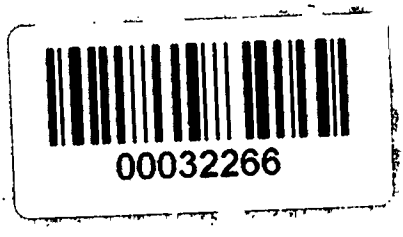
TRUTH is the DAUGHTER of TIME.



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THE PREFACE.

"IT has now [1760] been fashionable, for half a century, to "defame, and vilify, the house of Steuart, and to exalt, and "magnify the reign of Elizabeth: The Steuarts have found few "apologists: For, the dead cannot pay for praise; and who will, "without reward, oppose the tide of popularity? Yet, there re- "mains still among us, not wholly extinguished, a zeal for truth, "and a desire for establishing right, in opposition to fashion. "The author, whose work is now before us, has attempted a vin- "dication of Mary of Scotland, whose name has, for some years, "been, generally, resigned to infamy; and who has been consi- "dered, as the murderer of her husband; and as condemned, by "her own letters."

Such was the appropriate language of Johnson, in 1760, when he reviewed Mr. Tytler's "Enquiry into the evidence, which has "been produced against Mary, Queen of Scots." But, since that epoch, great changes have taken place, in respect to all those topicks: In private investigations, in public opinion, in the fortune of families, in the fame of Sovereigns, much alteration has occurred. The house of Steuart has fallen for ever. The conduct of Elizabeth has been more minutely examined; while the policy of her reign has been more precisely investigated. The more the evidence, which artifice produced, and ambition propagated, against the Scotish Queen, has been examined, by criticism, as well as by candour; the more has her conduct been cleared, her innocence established, and her misfortunes pitied: Much does her encreasing fame owe to the *Examination* of Goodall; much to the *Enquiries* of Tytler; but, much more to the argument, and the eloquence of Whitaker, in his *Vindication*. Truth may be concealed, for a time; but, cannot be exploded, by whatever artifice.

It was owing to accident, rather than design, that I undertook this work. Hearing that the successful vindicator of the Scotish Queen, was employed, in writing her private life, I thought it a respect, which I owed to him, and his subject, to communicate such documents, concerning her, as had occurred, in my enquiries, with regard to the History of Scotland, during her troubled age. But, he unfortunately, died, before he had completed the task, which he had imposed upon himself. His widow, and two daughters, knowing how much I had interested myself in his success, sent me his manuscript, and my own communications, with the kindness, that is natural to women; desiring that I would publish the whole, without, perhaps, knowing how imperfect he had left his biographical labours.

But, various avocations, and some years of ill health, have hitherto prevented me, from executing their desires, as well as my own wishes, by publishing *this life* of the Queen of Scots, with such new matter, as I had collected, from public, and private sources.

In executing this work, I have found it necessary to new-write the whole. In doing this, I perceived the convenience, as well as the use, of dividing this extensive subject, into two volumes: The first will comprehend the Queen's *life;* the second will contain *six* memoirs of subsidiary matter: (1) Of the *calumnies,* concerning the Scotish Queen; (2) Of the *life* of Francis II. her first husband; (3) Of the *life* of Lord Darnley, her second husband; (4) Of the *life* of James Earl Bothwell, her third husband; (5) Of the life of the Regent Murray, her bastard brother, and minion; (6) A sketch of the life of her Secretary Maitland. All those memoirs will be found to bear materially, on *this life* of the Scotish Queen; by illustrating its obscurities; and ascertaining its facts. As the interesting question, whether the Queen of Scots were guilty, or innocent, of Darnley's death, must occur, the answer to this question will be more familiarly treated, in those separate memoirs, than in a formal dissertation, which might require an attention of more disgust than amusement, and might fatigue, without the comfort of conviction.

Yet, should I never have thought of publishing the singular

life of the Scotish Queen, if I had not convinced myself, by my own labours, and reflections, that she was a calumniated woman, and an injured princess; who was innocent of the crimes, which were committed by others, and imputed to her, by the evil doers themselves, who found it no hard matter, during the delusive circumstances of corrupt times, to cast their own guilt upon her conduct: Calumniation became the great object of her rain, while religion was debased, by fanaticism; while domestic faction was actuated, by criminal ambition; and while both religion, and faction were inflamed, by foreign policy, which was itself urged, by hatred, and prompted, by malignity. Under such circumstances of Mary's government; having for her servants, the ambitious, the wicked, and the perfidious; it might have been truly said of her, in Shakspeare's speech:

> "Be thou, as chaste as ice, as pure as snow,
> "Thou shalt not escape calumny."

The state papers, both published, and unpublished, have been ransacked, for new documents, in order to establish additional facts: Nor, has the labour of years, I trust, been bestowed altogether in vain. Many old falshoods will be detected, and many new truths will be established. Robertson could not, from the contradictoriness of the contemporary writers, determine what was the real disease of Darnley, when he was taken ill, at Glasgow. It was given out, and belived, to be poison. I have found letters, in the Paper Office, which demonstrate, that he was infected with the small-pox, which then prevailed, in that town. This fact will free the Queen, from many pages of calumny. *The declaration of French Paris*, who was executed, as one of the King's murderers, was supposed by some, to be satisfactory proof of the Queen's privity, to her husband's death. But, I have discovered, in the Paper Office, the original declaration, which exhibits G. Buchanan, and J. Wood, two busy enemies of the Scotish Queen, *in the very act of forging that declaration.* This will relieve the calumniated Mary, from a whole volume of the grossest slander. It is only from the State Papers, that a proper answer can be given to the interesting question, who murdered Darnley? There are docu-

ments, in the Paper Office, which clearly show, that a conspiracy of nobles murdered Darnley: But, with those nobles, the Queen had no privity, and could have no participation, in their guilt. Connecting that conspiracy of nobles, with the Acts of Parliament, attainting the three plotters, the enquiry, as to the death of Darnley, is finally closed, by establishing their guilt, and evincing the Queen's innocence. In this manner, then, may we perceive, the truth of Shakspeare's remark:

> " Many worthy and chaste dames thus,
> " All guiltless, meet reproach."

From the certainty, arising out of this wide range over the *State Papers*, and *Statute Book*, another truth results, which is of equal importance. The whole documents, which were created, by the murderers, to connect the Queen, with their *cat's-paw*, while he was connected, as a conspirator, with her enemies, are, by the same State Papers, and the Statute Book, equally, proved to be forgeries: Here, then, is another point of great interest established, in favour of the Queen's innocence. They, who were guilty of *the murder*, may be easily supposed, to be capable of forgery: And, they, who were detected, in one forgery, were very probably guilty of similar impostures.

We now begin to see what has been called *the Marian controversy* drawing to a close: For, the Queen's innocence being demonstrated: It becomes equally certain, that she was innocent of writing such immoral documents, as the letters, sonnets, marriage contracts, which were attributed to her, by the forgers, who had a strong interest, in casting the guilt from themselves upon her. Now; both those points of charge being decided, in favour of the injured Queen, by the concurring authority of *the State Papers*, and *the Statute Book*, *the Marian controversy* here must close: So efficacious are such powerful documents, when properly perused, and clearly understood. When the Parliament decided on the guilt, or innocence of whatever party, who is to contend, that the highest judicature was probably mistaken.

It is a point of much less importance, even in the life of such a Queen, to ascertain what were her characteristic features, as a

woman. Robertson, the late historian of her reign, professed not to know, whether her hair, and eye brows, were black, or brown; whether her eyes were black, or blue; whether her nose were long, or short, curved, or straight; whether her complexion were fair, or dark. In this state of uncertainty, in respect to her *characteristic features*, the late Earl of Hardwick entertained some doubts, whether she had ever been as handsome, as flattery had feigned. If his lordship had founded his opinion on a view of the Hatfield Mary, he might well doubt:[a] The portrait has the features of Mary; but not the youth, and beauty, the elegant manners, and captivating address of the Queen of Scots.

In this state of uncertainty, with regard to the person of the Scotish Queen, I employed Mr. Pailou, a very ingenious artist, to paint that celebrated Queen, from such sketches, pictures, and other materials, as might be laid before his intelligent eyes. At the same time, I presumed to think, that her features might be settled, by ascertaining the facts, relating to her person, like any other matters of history.

But, a difficulty now arose, which was not soon settled, in discovering the proper standard of the form, and features, of the Queen of Scots. Some antiquaries referred to her *coins*, as the best standard, which, generally, represent her, as it was said, with a *cock-up-nose*[b]. Some antiquaries, with the late Earl of Orford, at their head, referred, for their standards, to the figure on her tomb, in Henry VII.'s chapel,[c] to the picture, which was, formerly, at St. James's, and which was engraved by Vertue, and to an original picture, at Dalmahoy, the house of the Earl of

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[a] When Waller, the Poet, met his *Saccharissa*, [Lady Dorothy Sydney] after she had declined into the vale of years, she asked him, when he would again write such verses on her? He answered, when you are as young, and handsome, as you then were.

[b] With a view to that supposed standard, and an allusion to that opinion, there are now given, as *head*, and tail pieces, four several plates of her coin, at particular periods of her life.

[c] The last ornament, in this work, is *a plate of her tomb*, drawn by the late ingenious, Mr. Carter, and finely engraved, by Mr. Cooper.

Morton;[d] all which represent the Scotish Queen, with a Grecian nose, and analogous features.

While those enquiries were making, the aid of Sir Joseph Banks's influence was asked. The late Hon. Horace Walpole had the goodness, on Sir Joseph's application, to write the instructive letter, on this subject, which the more curious reader will see, in the note below[e]. Of Sir Joseph Banks, it is unnecessary to remark, after this illustrious man has spent an active life, in benefiting his country, and enlightening mankind, how efficaciously his spirit enters into every liberal pursuit, though it may relate to *the arts*, rather than to *nature*; how he promotes enquiry, by the readiness of his assistance, and ensures success, by the vigour of his endeavours.

Mr. Pailou, after receiving so many hints, began an outline of his picture, from a sketch of Lord Morton's original. There was communicated to him a slight drawing, reduced, by squares, from a picture of the Scotish Queen in the little church of St.

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[d] This original was finely copied for me, by Martin, and is engraved, for this work, by Mr. Cooper, which fronts the title page.

[e] I never could ascertain the authenticity, and originality, of any portrait of Mary, Queen of Scots; but of that, which is in the possession of the Earl of Morton; and which was painted when she was a prisoner at Lochleven. There are copies of it at St. James's, at Hatfield, and Hardwicke. Vertue did not think, that the fine head, in a black hat, by Isaac Oliver, in the King's collection, and which Vertue engraved, when it was Doctor Mead's, was a portrait of her. He, also, doubted, if that, at Chiswick, which he engraved, for Lord Burlington; and said to be painted for her, by Zucchero, when married to Francis II.; but it is not clear, that Zucchero ever saw her; nor is the nose like that in Lord Morton's picture, which agrees with the figure on her tomb, at Westminster; in both, the nose rises a little towards the top; bends rather inwards, at the bottom; but, it is true, that the profile on her medal, is rather full too. Yet, I should think, that Lord Morton's picture, and the tomb, are most to be depended on.

There is a whole length of Mary, at Windsor; but, it must have been painted, after her death: For, in the back ground, is a view of her execution. The picture in one of the company's halls, in the City, from which there is a print, and said to be Queen Mary, with her son, three or four years old, cannot be genuine: For, I think, she never saw James, after he was a year old.

HOR. WALPOLE.

Andrew, at Antwerp; the hair, eyes, and drapery, being washed with colours[f]. There was now shown Mr. Pailou, a black lead drawing of the Queen's picture, in the Scots college, at Doway, which had been founded, by the Scotish Queen[g]. There was also laid before Mr. Pailou, a drawing in black chalk, from a picture of the same Queen, in the Scots college, at Paris, which had been painted, when she was Dauphiness of France. Other sketches were shown him, at this period of his work, though perhaps, they were less original. Mr. Pailou, however, considered Lord Morton's original, as the basis of his own picture; taking the proportions from it: But, as he advanced, he constantly referred to the drawings, till he had got the whole adjusted, and coloured.

Mr. Pailou now visited the tomb of Mary: And, examining, with an accurate eye, the face, and figure, of the Queen, which Lord Orford had referred to, as a standard; I found, says Mr. Pailou, "the same *contour*, that I had obtained, from the sketches, "and drawings; the principal difference arising, from the cha- "racteristic traits of the marble, being more strongly marked, "than the drawings, and prints, which enabled me more accu- "rately, to define the true form of the features: The statue "discovered, also, to me," he adds, "two traits, which had not "been expressed in any one of the drawings; viz. a small degree "of flatness at the point of the nose, and a gentle indentation, in "the chin: A slight indication, indeed, was given, in the French "print, as I afterwards observed. From this inspection of the "tomb, my picture was considerably advanced, by the introduc- "tion of those two traits; and by augmenting the prominence

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[f] Mr. Heber, who allows nothing to pass, unheeded by him, read to me the inscription, which he had copied, from that picture, when at Antwerp: If, I rightly remember, the monument here, was erected, by Mr. Curl, an ecclesiastic, the relation of two ladies of the same name, who were attendants on the Scotish Queen, when she died; and who carried a portrait with them, when they retired to the Low Countries: From this portrait a copy was made, that was placed over the same monument; in the church of St. Andrew, as the grateful offering of the two ladies to the memory of an indulgent mistress.

[g] The original picture, in that college, has survived the late storms in France: It was preserved, by a lady, who, after rolling it up, placed it in a chimney.

" of the upper part of the forehead, which appeared, in the mar-
" ble, to project very much.

" After this great advance," continues Mr. Pailou, " I ex-
" amined several pictures of Mary; wherein I saw *dark grey eyes,*
" instead of chestnut coloured,[h] and black hair instead of light
" auburn. The picture, at the Scots hall, in Fleet-street, is a
" whole length, in black, which we, afterwards, discovered, to
" have been copied, from Lord Salisbury's Mary, at Hatfield;
" the copyist, however, having lost the *likeness,* by endeavouring
" to make the face handsomer, than the original.

" I was now carried," continues Mr. Pailou, " to the whole
" length Mary, in the library, at Hatfield. This picture ap-
" peared to me," he adds, " to have been painted, with a strict
" attention to the minutenesses of nature; and has much more
" truth, than taste: It gives, scarcely, any idea of the beauty
" of the personage, which it represents; it looks, as if the ori-
" ginal had been *fifty,* and has an unpleasant expression of sor-
" row, and dejection: Yet, is it the only picture," he says, " that
" I have seen of Mary, which then appeared to me to be an ori-
" ginal: And, the artist seemed to me, to have aimed *at making*
" *the face handsome,* by making it *very smooth;* It, however, gives
" a very clear, and distinct, idea of the real form of the features;
" and was of great use to me, in determining those particular,
" and minute turns of those parts of the face, that constitute
" *individuality:* This picture, if it were handsome, would be ex-
" tremely like the figure on the tomb of Mary; as it is, they
" bear, indeed, mutual testimony of each other's likeness to *the*
" *original.*

" After having corrected, and improved my picture," continues
Mr. Pailou, " from the Hatfield picture, we went to the British
" Museum, to the Queen's house, to the King's palaces, and to
" private houses, and even proceeded to Oxford: But, I found
" nothing," says Mr. Pailou, " in any of the pictures, to enable
" me to improve my own miniature of the Scotish Queen. They

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[h] Beal, the clerk of the Privy Council, who was directed, by Cecil, to see, and report the death of the Scotish Queen, describes her, as having chestnut coloured eyes.

" each of them, indeed, contain some trait, or some individual " feature, which confirmed the truth of the forms, which had " been, previously, obtained: Being now, perfectly, satisfied," concludes Mr. Pailou, " as to the true form of the Queen of " Scots' face, and the exact shape of her features, I waited the " arrival of a complete copy, in oil, of Lord Morton's original, " by the able pencil of Martin; from which I finished the " *drapery* of my miniature; not chusing, to make any fanciful al- " teration, in the dress, from the real fashion of the times, wherein " the Queen lived."

James V. the father of Mary, was a very handsome, and dignified personage, with *a very fair complexion*, and light hair. The mother of Mary was a woman of rather the largest size. The Queen of Scots was herself a very accomplished woman of the largest size, with the finest address: Pailou's portrait of her has been very generally admired, for its truth, for its elegance: It has been now engraved, by Mr. Scriven, for this work; and stands, fronting the title page of the second volume.

A List of Plates, with Directions, where they are to be placed.

1. Four Coins of the Scotish Queen: (1) Mary, when young, on the Title page of Vol. I. (2) Mary with Francis II., to be imprinted on the last page of Vol. I. (3) Mary, and Darnley, to be on the Title page of Vol. II. (4) Mary, in her widowed state, to be imprinted on the last page of Vol. II.

5. A Portrait of Mary, from Lord Morton's original: To front the Title page of Vol. I.

6. The scene of Rizzio's murder: To face the conclusion of Section VI.

7. The surrender of Mary, on Carberry-hill: To face the event on page 229. [From a sketch in the Paper Office.]

8. The murder of Darnley: To face the event, at page 204, of Vol. I. [From the Paper Office.]

9. A Portrait of Mary; as painted by Pailou: To face the Title page of Vol. II.

10. The Tomb of Mary: To face the last page of Vol. II.

THE CONTENTS.

SECTION I.

From her Birth, till her arrival in France - - - - page 1

SECTION II.

During her Residence in France - - - - - 11

SECTION III.

From the Queen's Return to Scotland, till her Northern Journey, in August 1562. - - - - - 48

SECTION IV.

Of the Queen's Tour into the North, and her Return - - 77

SECTION V.

From her Return to Edinburgh, till Randolph visited her at St. Andrews 100

SECTION VI.

From the Arrival of Darnley, till the Assassination of Rizzio - 128

SECTION VII.

From Rizzio's Murder, till the Queen's Delivery - - 167

SECTION VIII.

From James's Birth, till Darnley's Murder - - - 180

SECTION IX.

From Darnley's Murder, to the Queen's Dethronement - - 211

SECTION X.

From the Queen's Dethronement, till her Escape into England - 256

SECTION XI.

From Mary's Arrival in England, till the End of Elizabeth's Enquiry 286

SECTION XII.

From the End of Elizabeth's Enquiry, till Mary's Removal to Sheffield 327

SESTION XIII.

From the Queen's Arrival at Sheffield, till the Death of Norfolk - 341

THE CONTENTS.

SECTION XIV.

From the Death of Norfolk, till the Queen's Attainder - - - 352

SECTION XV.

From the Queen's Attainder, till Morton's Execution - - 365

SECTION XVI.

From Morton's Execution, till King James's Escape from Ruthven - 388

SECTION XVII.

From King James's Escape from Ruthven, till Mary's Removal to Tutbury 400

SECTION XVIII.

From Mary's Removal to Tutbury, till her Removal to Fotheringay - 416

SECTION XIX.

From Mary's Removal to Fotheringay, till her Death. 432

THE LIFE OF Mary, Queen of Scots.

SECTION I.

From her Birth, till her arrival in France.

JAMES V., after a thousand amours, which were as discreditable to himself, as injurious to his family, and dangerous to his kingdom, married, in May 1557, Magdalene of France, the sickly daughter of Francis I. She only survived her arrival, in Scotland, forty days of weakness. And the Scotish poets were thus obliged, to change their nuptial songs into premature laments, for the loss of a princess, whose usual amenities had already captivated an admiring people.

The King now espoused, for his second wife, Mary of Guise, the widowed Duchess of Longueville, the eldest daughter of Claude, Duke of Guise, by Antoinette de Bourbon, a princess of the blood. Mary arrived, at Fifeness, on the 10th of June 1538. She thence proceeded to St. Andrews, where she was welcomed, by the King, who carried her to the new palace, within the Abbey. Here, did the King, and Queen, remain

forty days, with great merriness, saith the contemporary Pitscottie: "Such as justing, running at the lists, archery, "hunting, and hawking, with singing, and dancing, in mask- "ing, and playing at all other princely games, according to a "king and queen." Similar sports, and rejoicings, took place, in various other parts of Scotland, which show, at once, the hilarity of the people, and the manners of the age.

Francis I. assigned to the Duchess of Longueville, on her marriage, with James V., an annuity of 20,000 livres[a]. There were assigned her, for dower, Orkney, and Zetland, and the Earldom of Ross[b]. To the King, who had thus endowed her, she gave a son, on the 22d of May 1540, at St. Andrews, who was baptised, at the same place, on the 26th of the month, by the name of James[c]. She brought him a second son, in April 1541, who was baptised Arthur. The nation partook in her misfortunes, when she lost both her sons, soon after the birth of the second. She had the consolation, however, of bringing her husband, while he was dying of an afflicted spirit, a daughter, on the 7th of December 1542, in the palace of Linlithgow. James V. died, on the 14th of the same month, in the palace of Faukland; and was buried, in the chapel of Holyrood-house, on the 9th of January 1542-3[d].

The Queen was, scarcely, born, when calumny began to

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[a] Scotstarvit's Calendars.

[b] In 1543, she obtained a decree of the Privy Council, that she should be answered, in all the revenues, whereof she had been endowed, with possession of the castles, &c. In December 1543, she prosecuted Oliver Sinclair, in Parliament, for detaining the castle of Kirkwall, and obtained a decree against him. [Acta Parl. ii. 341-43]. In 1552, the Governor, at the dowager Queen's desire, remitted to her tenants of Ross, and Ardmannach, their compositions, in the Justice Ayre of Inverness, amounting to £435. 13*s.* 4*d.*

[c] The Queen's household book.

[d] Register of the Official of Lothian. Lesley is the only historian, who is accurate in both these dates; the birth of Mary, and the King's demise: Buchanan is wrong in both; and Robertson followed Knox into his error, in the first date.

misrepresent her, as a sickly child, who could not live. The Queen mother, who possessed the masculine spirit of her family, ordered the nurse to unswaddle the infant, before Sir Ralph Sadler, the English ambassador, who wrote to his impatient master, that the Queen was, as goodly a child, as he had ever seen of her age[e]. The *goodly Queen* appears to have been baptized, in January 1542-3[f]. And, she was crowned, at Stirling, on Sunday, the 9th of September, in the same year, by Beaton, the Cardinal Archbishop of St. Andrews; the Earl of Arran, as next in blood, bearing the crown[g].

The Queen's nurse was Janet Sinclair, the spouse of John Kemp, who were both amply rewarded, for their useful services to the infant Mary[h]. Munificence is never better employed, or with more general approbation, than in granting adequate rewards, for the lowly services of the faithful poor.

The Parliament of March 1542-3 appointed commissioners, to exercise, by turns, the charge of the Queen's person; leaving the nutriment of her body, and mind, to her mother, who was a princess of spirit: and who was to enjoy, for the royal residence, the palace of Linlithgow, and the castle of Stirling[i].

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[e] Sadler's State Letters.

[f] In the Treasurer's books of January 1542-3, there is the following charge: "Gevin to Alexander Denham, quhilk he disbursit, for white taffetis of Janis to the princessis baptism."

[g] Sadler's Letters, 350; Keith, 32; and Innes's MS. Chronology.

[h] There was a grant, on the 23d of January 1542-3 to John Kemp of *Troner* of the burgh of Hadington. [Privy Seal Reg. xvii, 16.] There was a grant to Janet Sinclair, the queen's nurse, and John Kemp, of the lands of Newtonleys, in the lordship of Dunbar, during their lives. [Ib. 40.] In November, 1544, there was another grant to them, in Stirlingshire. [Ib. xviii, 93.] This was ratified by Parliament. [Acta Parl. ii, 465.] After the Queen came of age, she granted to John Kemp a pension of victual, and money, which was excepted out of the general revocation. [Ib. 246.]

[i] Keith, 30: The Parliament of December 1543, endemnified those, who *con-*

After some changes of the persons, who were invested with this great trust, John, Lord Erskine, and Alexander, Lord Livingston, were appointed to this charge, in concurrence with the Queen mother; those honourable men, undertaking this trust "under the pain of loss of life, lands, and goods" [k]. To those worthy nobles were added, as preceptors, two ecclesiastics, John Erskine, the Prior of Inchmahome, and Alexander Scot, the parson of Balmaclellan[l]. Stirling castle was the scene of the Queen's education, from the 24th of April 1545 till September 1547. Even earlier than April 1545, perhaps, before the infant Mary was removed, from Linlithgow, she appears to have had the small pox, a point this, of great importance, in the biography of a beauty, and a queen[m].

Considering the circumstances of the times, when every effort was made, by a too powerful neighbour, to obtain possession of the Queen's person, either by force, or fraud: reflecting, also, that the whole power of Scotland had been worsted, on Pinkiefield, on the 10th of September 1547; it was deemed prudent, to remove the Queen, from Stirling castle, to an inaccessible isle, in the lake of Menteith, wherein were a castle, and a monastery. It was the dowager Queen, who inspired the Scotish councils, with persevering resolution, after

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vened, for removing the Queen, from Linlithgow to Stirling, without the Governor's assent, who was suspected of interested purposes.

[k] Acta Parl. ii, 463.

[l] In July 1548, the Prior was appointed chancellor of the metropolitan church of Glasgow, on the resignation of his brother, Thomas Erskine, the commendator of Dryburgh. [Privy Seal Reg. xxii, 26.] The Prior had, already, obtained a grant of the escheat of the property of the late David Ballone, the bastard son of Dom. Andro Ballone, pensioner of Inchmahome. [Ib. xix, 18.] Alexander Scot was one of the canons of the chapel royal of Stirling, of which the parsonage of Belmaclellan was a prebend.

[m] Sadler's State Letters.

so great a disaster, as a battle lost[n]. It was owing to that intelligent princess, also, that a peculiar plan of education was adopted, for her daughter, who is said to have had an excellent understanding, from nature: She combined, in the instruction of her daughter, play, and emulation, the benefit of which, princes seldom have the happiness to enjoy, during their infant years: The dowager Queen chose from the most respectable families, four girls of her daughter's age, and of the same name, who played with her, and were educated with her[o]. Under this discipline, and in that recess, did they remain, till the Queen was carried to Dunbarton castle, in February 1547-8, as preparatory, for her departure to France[p].

Meanwhile the Queen was hardly a month old, when Henry VIII. began his boisterous courtship of the heiress of Scotland, for his infant son. Corruption and threats, war and devastation, were the odious means of that intemperate sovereign, to gain his wished-for object. Every one must approve of what the Earl of Huntley said, while he was a prisoner, in England, when he was asked, for his support: I mislike not so much the match, said he, as the way of wooing. In pursuance of Henry's passion, gross as it was, treaties of peace, and marriage, were made, at Greenwich, on the first of July 1543[q]. With his usual violence, Henry violated the recent treaties, by

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[n] Paton's Expedition, 80.

[o] Those girls were of the families of Livingston, Fleming, Seton, and Beatoun.

[p] For the assiduous performance of that great trust, the two lords, Erskine, and Fleming, received each £60. a month, for the first eight months; and afterwards at the rate of £80. a month to each; as we may learn, from the Treasurer's books. When the Governor visited the Queen, and her household, in November 1544, he left a gratuity of 24 shillings—"to the queens *menstraillis*." [Id.]

[q] Rym. xiv, 86; Epist. Reg. Scot. ii., 256: but the original treaty, in the Cotton library, Calig. B. VII. 255, contains four articles, which are not printed, either in Rymer, or in the royal letters.

seizing the Scotish ships, before those treaties were ratified[r]. A war with England now began, which endured, for six years; and which was noted for the vileness of its means, the barbarity of its conduct, and the futility of its conclusion[s].

The Scotish King dying of grief, and being even indifferent to the birth of an heiress, left his family, and his people, without the appointment of any formal government. Whatever were the pretensions, to the rule of Scotland, which had been formed, by the dowager Queen, or by Cardinal Beaton, in concert with her, were disappointed. The Parliament on the 13th of March 1542-3, declared the Earl of Arran, one of the weakest of men, the next heir to the crown, governor of the kingdom, and tutor to the Queen[t]. James, the second Earl of Arran, who was thus elevated, by his relationship to the Queen, rather than his own merit, married, in September 1532, one of the daughters of the distracted family of the Earl of Morton. The Countess of Arran, however, brought her husband two sons, and two daughters: and, her second child was born, about the year 1535; who was known, as James, master of Hamilton, till he became Earl of Arran, by his father's elevation to a French dukedom. This boy, who was destined to make his lovesuit to the two British queens, was sent in September 1543, to the University of St. Andrews: But, whether he resided, in Cardinal Beaton's house

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[r] Keith, 31-2. On the 23d of August, the Governor ratified the above treaties, before he was informed of their violation. The Scotish Parliament, in December 1543, declared the treaties with England violated, and void. [Acta Parl. ii., 431.] As a necessary consequence, the Parliament, at the same time, accepted the proposals of the French ambassador, for renewing the ancient alliance with France. [Ib. 432.]

[s] With regard to the odious transactions of that disastrous period, there are many documents, at Hamilton-house, in 12 folio volumes, which Keith never saw, and Robertson, but indistinctly.

[t] Acta Parl. ii. 411-13-14-15.

is very doubtful; considering the enmity of the Governor, and the Cardinal: There can be, nevertheless, no doubt, whether he were sent to that learned seminary, for his scholastic education[u]. Here, *the Master* resided; studying Despauter's Grammar, and Æsop's Fables, when the assassins of Cardinal Beaton, on the 29th of May 1546, seized him, as lawful prize, upon the same principle, on which they put the Cardinal to death, contrary to every precept of religion, and axiom of morals. While the master remained, in such desperate hands, the Parliament declared him disqualified, from succeeding to the crown[v]. When the assassins, however, were taken in the Cardinal's castle, in July 1547, by the French gallies, the master was relieved, from his dangerous imprisonment. Scotland, as we have just seen, was not a very tranquil residence, for students, in that barbarous age. In May 1548, the master was sent to France, under the care of James Hamilton, of Orbieston[w]. The master was, soon

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[u] We know, indeed, from the treasury record, that as the Governor appropriated the whole revenue of the crown *to his own use*, the Treasurer paid, for *the clothes* of the master of Hamilton, on the 21st of September 1544, who was then in St. Andrews. On the 11th of February 1545-6, the Treasurer paid five shillings and fourpence, "for two bukis, intitulit, Rudimenta Despautérii; Fabula "Esopæ, which were sent to St. Andrews, for the master of Hamilton."

[v] Acta Parl. ii, 474."

[w] In May 1548, there was a charge by the Treasurer of £400.—"to the Governor's eldest son, at his departure to France, to bear his expences." There was, also, a charge,—"for clothes to James Hamilton, who went, with the Governor's son, to France." There was, moreover, paid, *in finance*, (exchange,) by Mr. Thomas Marjoribanks, merchant, in Edinburgh, to my Lord Governor's eldest son, in France, 1000 franks, at 12*s*. each, or £600. On the 29th of May 1548, there were paid 8*s*. "to a boy, sent, from Paisley to Dunbarton, with cheese, corn, butter, and capons, to be a part of my Lord Governor's eldest son's victual, at his departing." The Governor's second son, John, and second daughter, Jane, were also sent to France, in July 1548, with the young Queen. The Governor's eldest daughter, Barbara, had been sent to France, somewhat earlier: so that he seems to have sent all his children to France, partly for safety, perhaps, as much as for their education. James Hamilton appears to have been killed, in one of the French

after, appointed colonel of the Scots guards, in France. We shall, in our progress, see this young colonel brought, from France, and sent to Scotland, under the fortunate auspices of Mr. Secretary Cecil, *for the benefit of the religion*, the same colonel having becqme a furious Huguenot, and of course, an useful helpmate to John Knox.

The treaties with England had, scarcely, been relinquished, by the Estates of Scotland, when the Governor began to think, the Scotish Queen would make a convenient wife, for his son, *the master*[x]. This project of selfish folly did not long escape the vigilant penetration of the dowager Queen. And they both began to intrigue, for their several objects, among a corrupt nobility. The Queen mother even attempted, in November 1544, to deprive the Governor of his high office, for which he had shewn himself unworthy. On the 8th of November 1544, the Governor, by the advice of Parliament, appointed commissioners to treat with the dowager Queen, and her nobles for the adjustment of differences.[y] This measure produced a con-

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galleys, on the voyage to France, in July 1548: the Treasurer, in September 1548, charged £112..10s. for 100 crowns of the sun, paid to James Hamilton, who was sent, to France, in my Lord Governor's affairs, "wha, in his passage, was slain, be "the Englishmen, in the French galley, taken by them."

[x] In the family archives, at Hamilton-house, there remains a *bond of manrent*, from the master of Eglinton to the Governor, wherein it is stipulated, in respect to the young Queen, "that when she shall come of age, she should marry her near "kinsman, the eldest son of my Lord Regent; least, by matching with England, "the crown should pass to *the auld enemy*." On the 11th of June 1546, in the Convention, then sitting, "The Governor, in presence of the Queen mother, and "the lords of the Council, for staunching divisions, discharged the contracts and "bonds, made to him by whatsoever noblemen of the realm, anent our soverane "ladie's marriage, and shall destroy the same. The fact, then, is certain, that the "Governor intended, to have married the Queen to his son." The Queen mother adopted the same means, for opposing the Governor's interested purpose, by attaching many nobles to her interests. The Privy Council Register is the record of their mutual distrusts, and reciprocal reconcilement.

[y] Acta Parl. ii. 448.

vention of both parties, at Stirling, on the 18th of November; when an agreement was concluded, for annulling the proceedings against the Governor; and for giving indemnity to the persons, who were engaged with the Queen mother, in those measures, for suspending the Governor. This proceeding was duly ratified, in the Parliament of February 1551-2[z]. Thus divided was the nation, during the Queen's infancy, when there ought to have been the greatest unanimity, from every consideration of prudence, and motive of policy.

In this state of distraction, though not of dismay, Mons. D'Essé, with five, or six thousand French troops, arrived, in Scotland. The representations of the dowager Queen had obtained, from the wisdom of Henry II., this aid, at a critical moment. The English had seized, and fortified Hadington. And, the presence of the French troops enabled the Queen mother to obtain the unanimous assent of the Estates, for offering their sovereign in marriage to the Dauphin, as well as, her personal residence, in France. To effectuate those purposes, the Governor assembled a Parliament, in the abbey of Hadington, on the 7th of July 1548. In this meeting of the Estates, in which the Queen dowager was present, they, "all in one voice," adopted the beforementioned resolutions[a]. The French galleys, which then lay in the harbour of Leith, were ordered to proceed round to the Clyde; pilots being collected, from the eastern ports of Scotland, for conducting them, through an intricate navigation, on this deceptive voyage[b].

At Dunbarton castle, the Queen, who was, then, in the fifth year of her age, was delivered to Mons. de Breze, who

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[z] Acta Parl. ii. 489. In the Hamilton archives, there remains a letter, from the dowager Queen, promising obedience to the Governor.

[a] Robertson has strangely mistaken the date of that parliamentary meeting, which was not on the 5th of June: He says a *majority* of the Estates voted, for the treaty, while they were *unanimous*. Hist. i. 128. But, see the Acta Parl. ii. 481.

[b] Treasurer's accounts, July 1548.

had been sent by Henry II., to receive her. She was attended, by Lady Fleming, her relation, being the natural daughter of James IV.: and, she was accompanied by her four Marys: These were her schoolfellows, and playmates, at present; they were designed, to be her attendants, and friends, through life; endeared to her, by the recollection of their youthful hours having been passed, in a happy communion together. They attended upon her, even after her marriage; and they returned with her to her distracted kingdom. Her two Governors, Lord Erskine, and Lord Livingston, continued to perform that trust, by attending her to France, with her two subordinate instructors, the Prior of Inchmahome, and the parson of Balmaclellan. The Queen was, also, accompanied, by three natural brothers: Robert, commendator of Holyrood-house; by John, commendator of Coldingham; and above all, by the Lord James, the commendator of St. Andrews, who had a numerous attendance of writers, statesmen, and warriors, while he was not yet seventeen[c]. The galleys of France, with those illustrious passengers, did not sail, from the Clyde, till towards the end of July 1548[d]. This fleet arrived, at Brest, on the 13th of August 1548, after losing one of the galleys, which was taken, by an English ship[e].

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[c] Their licenses to travel are recorded in the Books of Council and Session; and those youthful commendators are said, in the record, to have gone to *the Sculis*, in France: For the followers of the Lord James, see his Memoirs, in volume two, which evince, that he had even then, become the head of a faction.

[d] By comparing the notices, in the Treasurer's accounts, with the licenses, in the Privy Seal Reg. it appears, that the French galleys did not sail, from Dunbarton, till the end of July 1548.

[e] The Treasurer's books, as we have seen.

SECTION II.

During her Residence in France.

THE Scotish Queen, certainly arrived, at Brest, on the 13th of August 1548, whatever may have been, contrarily, said, by ignorance[f].

From Brest, the Queen, with an honourable retinue of her own subjects, as well as of French, journeyed to the royal house of St. Germain en Leye, where she was met by Henry II. The King received her, with all the attention, and affability, which were due to himself, and to her. He resolved to educate her, in all the appropriate accomplishments of the female sex, in order to form a daughter, who might be worthy of her birth, and her adoption. After the Scotish Queen had remained some days at Court, with the King, and Queen, she was conveyed to a monastery of virgins, who were all of the prime nobility of France. There, did she remain, with a great desire, to acquire all the habits, and graces, of her sex, and most of the scholastic knowledge, which are inculcated on the other sex: With all those acquirements, she enjoyed excellent health, the effect of regular discipline, and grew in stature, the effect of healthful exercise. The Scotish historians, reasoning, from the manners of their own times, deplore the education of Mary, in the court of Henry II., one of the most polite, but

[f] The Cronique de Carion, which was published, at Paris, 1553, states, that she was landed, in Bretaigne, August 1548: But, Ribier seems to have mistaken the month of July, for August.

most corrupt, in Europe. She, here, according to them, received every accomplishment, that could add to her charms, as a woman, and contracted many of those prejudices, which occasioned her misfortunes, as a queen. The historians thus show their own prejudices, while they lament, with injudicious regret, the prejudices of the Queen. Had Mary returned to Scotland, at the end of thirteen years, as complete a Huguenot, as Arran, and as determined a Calvinist, as Knox, the same misfortunes had befallen her, while Elizabeth's dissimulation, governed England; while Murray's ambition influenced Scotland.

Meantime, Henry II. sent notice to the Protector of England of Mary's arrival, in France, of her affiance with the Dauphin, and of the investiture of her kingdom, which he was now bound to defend[g]. The avowed cause of the war, as far as it related to the acquisition of Scotland, by marriage, was by those means completely removed. All hopes of conquest, either by force, or fraud, were now extinguished. But, insidious intrigue remained, both at home, and abroad, for depriving the Scotish Queen of her crown, even after hostilities had been closed, by treaty[h]. It was a profligate age, resulting

[g] Ribier, 151-2.

[h] The peace of Boulogne was concluded, on the 1st of April 1550, which comprehended Scotland, and was immediately ratified, by all the parties. Yet, in 1551, W. Thomas, a confidential adviser of Edward VI., represented to him, that since Scotland cannot now be conquered; the Governor might, nevertheless, be induced, by management, to take the crown upon himself, who might thus be established, as a powerful friend to England, but a perpetual enemy to France. [Strype's Mem. ii. 73.] When it was found, in 1559, that the Governor was not quite equal to such ambitious, not to say, such immoral projects, Elizabeth, and Cecil, encouraged the Lord James, the bastard of Scotland, to aim at the crown. [See the App. No. 1, to Murray's Memoirs, in vol. ii.) Was the court of France, then, more corrupt, than the court of England? Was it more profligate, than the reformed manners of Scotland, if we may judge, from the prevailing impostures, and the frequent forgeries; from the murder of Beaton, and the assassination of Rizzio!!

from the violent efforts to reform it; and the manners, which then prevailed, in every country, and which attended the change from bad to better, infected the several ministers, in Europe, who were, generally, immoral in their means, and often disgraceful in their ends. History supplies but little instruction while she declaims on the corruptions of any particular people, or court, without investigating the circumstances, under which the several transactions occurred, with the principles of the actors, in the varying scenes.

Whatever might have been the sincere desire of either party; of the Governor, or the dowager Queen, to be reconciled to each other, the intelligent eyes of that princess saw too much of his interested conduct, to be satisfied with his administration. She resolved to visit France: with an intention, no doubt, to see her daughter; but, much more, to obtain the French King's consent, and aid, in superseding the Governor. With a splendid train of nobles, she sailed, for France, in September 1550, on-board the French fleet. Her voyage was attended with important consequences[i]. Besides seeing that her daughter had greatly improved, in stature, in manners, and in knowledge, she gained the King's influence, for displacing the Governor: and, it followed of course, that she was to be placed, in his uneasy seat.

While the Queen mother remained, in France, there was an attempt made, by one Steuart, a Scotish archer, in the King's guards, to take off the young Queen, by poison. He was detected in his guilty purpose; and being convicted, was executed, as in cases of high treason[k]. What could have induced such a man, to attempt such a crime, if it were not fanaticism, or

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[i] She procured the release of the assassins of Beaton, in order to gratify the Reformers, whose support she courted. It might have been foreseen, from such corrupt conduct, that her administration would be betrayed, by such characters.

[k] The Bp. of Ross's MS. history, in his native tongue.

bribery, it is not easy to tell. One Stewart, a Scotsman, shot Mons. Le Président Minard, who had been Mary's curator, as he returned, on his mule, from the Palace. The same profligate Stewart pistoled the Constable Montmorency, at the battle of St. Denis. And the same Robert Stewart was, probably, the confidential agent of Cecil, at Paris, in 1567[l]. The same Stewart, who had committed so many murders, being taken prisoner, at the battle of Jarnac, in 1569, was put to death, in revenge, for the assassination of Montmorency[m]. It is not easy to conceive a miscreant of a more atrocious character, than one, who seems to have been retained, for taking off particular men of great consideration, who were obnoxious to himself, or to others: and for this end, seems to have gone into the frequent conflicts of civil war.

In the subsequent year, the Queen mother was allowed, by the English government, to return, through England, with hopes, that were never gratified. She was received, with affected civilities, by Edward VI., who renewed, without success, his courtship of the infant Queen, who had been already betrothed to the Dauphin[n].

It required, however, many intrigues, and much solicitude, before the Queen mother obtained the great object of her ambitious wishes. Henry II. seeing the procrastination of the Governor, wrote him, in December 1553; desiring that he would relinquish the regency to the dowager Queen. The infant Queen executed, at Meudon, near Paris, on the 22d of March, 1553-4, a discharge to the Duke of Chattelherault, of all his intromissions, with her treasure, and other concerns, while Reid, the Bishop of Orkney, her curator, countersigned

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[l] The Cabala.

[m] Henault's L'Hist. ii. 542.

[n] The English books of Privy Council, 3d of August 1551; Keith, 59: The dowager Queen arrived, in Edinburgh, at the end of *November* of the same year, not *December*, as Keith, and Robertson, after him, have stated.

the same document. The Duke, perceiving that the Queen mother had obtained the general consent of the nobility, resigned his charge, at the Parliament of April 1554, which passed, in his favour, an act of exoneration. The dowager Queen was now Regent, from the 12th of April 1554: But, the Duke's prodigality left her a debt of £30,000. which, in the period of five years, her usual prudence completely satisfied. With less providence, she not only changed the character, but the persons, of the administration of the Scotish government. The Regent Queen, by trying to conciliate every party, offended all parties[o].

The time now approached, when a great change was to take place, in the Queen's fortune, and affairs. When the Parliament assembled, in December 1557, a letter, from the French King, was laid before the Estates; requesting that persons of most respectable rank might be sent into France, to consent to the Queen's contract of marriage, and to witness her union, with the Dauphin[p]. This request admitted of no hesitation. Persons of great respectability, for their birth, and station, and talents, were now appointed, for those interesting objects[q]. The instructions, which were given to those commissioners, by the three Estates, do honour to their sagacity, in discerning the interests of their country, and to their wisdom, in guarding such important objects[r].

The Scotish commissioners arriving, at Paris, in March, 1558, proceeded, immediately, to execute the great objects of the three States. They witnessed their Queen's contract of marriage, on the 19th of April, and saw her married, to Francis, the Dauphin, in the church of Notre-Dame, on Sunday, the

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[o] Holinshed, 359; Keith, 70. [p] Parl. Record, 730-31. [q] Keith, 72.

[r] An abstract of those instructions are, in Keith, 73: The rights of the Duke of Chattelherault, as next heir to the crown, were to be confirmed; and the liberties, and laws, of the kingdom were to be preserved.

24th of the same month[s]. The King, and Queen of France honoured this solemnity with their presence; not without a great concourse of nobles, and a very crowded appearance of ambassadors. The Queen, immediately, saluted the Dauphin, as King of Scots; the Scotish commissioners imitated her example, and both were accompanied, in their salutations, by the loud acclaims of a numerous audience: These ceremonies were succeeded, by banquets of unbounded expense, and unexampled splendour[t].

The Queen mother, on her part, caused her daughter's marriage, to be solemnized, in Scotland, with equal rejoicings, though not with equal expenditure. She sent directions to the several towns of Scotland—"to make fyres, and proces-"sions general, for the completing, and solemnizing of the "marriage, betwixt our sovereign Lady, and the Dauphine of "France[u]."

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[s] Honest Keith is indignant, that the French government should have induced the infant Mary, to have executed some other documents, which operated, as defeasances of her marriage contract. [Hist. 73.] For this, he quoted papers, which he did not examine, whether they were genuine, or forged, during an age of forgery. See Goodall, i. 165.

[t] There was published, at Paris, in 1548, "A Declaration of the triumphant "Marriage of the two most noble Prince, and Princess, Francis de Valoys, and "Mary Stewart, by the grace of God, King and Queen of Scotland, and Dauphin, "and Dauphiness of France." We may thus perceive, that the assumption of *the titles of England*, which was never forgiven, must have taken place, somewhat later. It was on the 16th of January 1558-9, that Cecil took notice, in his Diary, for the first time, that the Dauphin, and Dauphiness, did grant something to Lord Fleming, by the style of K. & Q. of Scotland, England, and Ireland. He is very frequent, afterwards, in noticing such transgressions, for the obvious purpose of constant recollection. This idle adoption was not more imprudent, than Elizabeth's assumption of *the title* of King of France was preposterous; the law of France rejecting all female heirs to the crown.

[u] The Treasurer's accounts of the 27th of June 1548 ascertain the fact. On the 30th of June, there is a charge, in those accounts, of £44. to Mr. John Balfour of the Gardrobe, to buy certain velvit, satin, and taepheties, again the solemnization

The commissioners, who had been sent to France, to witness the marriage of their Queen, returning, in October, a Parliament was assembled, on the 28th of November 1558: and, there were now passed a variety of laws, for giving the Queen's marriage proper effect[x]. The Scotish historians do not mark, with sufficient precision, the several proceedings of the Parliament, resulting from the Queen's marriage: and, of course, when the same historians, some years after, mention this subject, they write weakly, and speak sophistically. The headstrong violence of Henry VIII., with the imitative folly of the Protector, Somerset, compelled the Scots into those measures of the Queen's marriage, and its necessary effects. Nor, would the latest posterity of Englishmen, probably, have ceased, from cursing the memories of this Protector, or that

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of the marriage of our sovereign Ladie, to be *counterfite* [counterfeited,] in Edinburgh, the third day of June, next to cum.—On the 3d of July, there is a charge, in the same account, of 10*s*.—" to certain *pyonaris*, for their laboris, in the raising of *Monss*. [Mons-meg, the great gun] forth of her lair, to be schote; and for the finding and carrying of her bullet, after she was schote, fra Wairdie-muir, to the castel of Edinburgh." Wairdie-moor is near Newhaven, two English miles, from the Castle. The city of Edinburgh caused *a play* to be made, and acted, on the occasion of their sovereign ladie's marriage. [Dalyel's Cursory Remarks, 32.]

[x] On the 29th of November 1558, all those of the commissioners, who witnessed the Queen's marriage, and lived to return, reported their proceedings to Parliament. [Acfa Parl. ii. 504-5.] There was passed an act, directing all writs, grants, &c. to be in the names of Francis and Mary, King and Queen of Scotland. [Ib. 506.] There was an act, naturalizing all the French people; as the French King had naturalized all the Scots. [Ib. 507.] There was an act, for sending the *crown matrimonial* to the Dauphin. [Ib. 506-7.] It was never sent, says Keith: How could it be sent? The *crown matrimonial* was only a *legal fiction*; and the act above, directing the Dauphin's name to be used, in all the formal proceedings of government, gave him, virtually, *the crown matrimonial*. Parl. Record. 729: There is no trace of that Parliament, in the Black Acts, whatever were the importance of the measures. If, indeed, the French meant, by the crown matrimonial, *the Regalia* of Scotland, they were disappointed, in their insidious object.

King, for all the ruinous consequences: But, happily, for Britain, Mary had no issue, by her marriage, with the Dauphin; the two crowns of Scotland, and of France, were again separated; and through all the complicated artifices of Elizabeth's reign, who was still aiming, in appearance, at an eternal separation of Scotland, and England, we reached that very point of union of both, which the French vainly attempted, by this marriage, to attain. In this manner will the year 1558 be, always, deemed an important period, in the Scotish history: The marriage of the Queen to Francis II.; the accession of Elizabeth to the throne of England; and the progress of the Reformation, till it was drawn into some apparent form: Such were the events, which were followed, by important consequences. At that Parliament of November 1558, the attainders of two of the most notorious traitors, Crichton, of Branston, and Cockburn, of Ormiston, were reversed[y]. But, the time was at hand, when the Regent Queen found, from experience, that the policy of opening the door of pardon to the greatest criminals did not contribute to the quiet of her government.

The Reformers, whom the Queen Regent was, early, studious to favour, from motives of ambition, rather than principles of approval, pursued her with their pretensions, and complaints, with their tumults, and hostility, to her grave.

The epoch of *the Reformation*, has been carried back to 1517 A. D., the year of Luther's opposition to Leo X.th's indulgences[z]. The solid reasonings of that leading reformer undermined the papal power: But, it was the criminal passions of Henry VIII. which induced him to assault the whole fabrick of the papal authority[a]. The corrupt practices of James IV.,

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[y] Parl. Record. 732; Keith, 77.

[z] Luther died, on the 18th of February 1544.

[a] Henry VIII. died the 28th January 1547. But, the formal change, in the national religion of England, took place, in 1552. Edward VI. died on the 6th of July 1553.

and still more of his successor James V., in filling the highest offices of the Scotican church, with their bastard children, degraded the ecclesiastical dignities, which they both wished to maintain. The metrical animadversions of Sir David Lyndsey on the corruptions of the clergy, which he sent to the press, from 1528, to 1553, contributed, greatly, to bring not only the persons, but the doctrines, of the clergy into popular odium[b]. From the appearance of Patrick Hamilton, in 1528, to the death of Walter Miln, in 1558, there came out upon the stage of reform, in Scotland, various pretenders to martyrdom, who were rather remarkable, for their power of suffering, than their practice of presbyterianism; and whose punishments were more legal, than either moral, or politic. As early as 1552, the Scotish people are said to have been divided into two parties: The adherents to the ancient establishment, with Archbishop Hamilton, at their head; and the reformers, who had for their leader, Lord James Steuart, one of the many bastards of James V., the youthful commendator of the priory of St. Andrews[c]. Such had been the progress of the reformers, however, opposed by law, or discountenanced by power, that it required all the address, and influence, of the Queen Regent, to prevent them, from petitioning the Parliament of November 1558, for sufferance, perhaps, for superiority[d].

While the Huguenots of France, could, only, object to Mary the barbarousness of her kingdom; it was observed, by others, of more discernment, that the Scotish Queen, however, elevated, by her marriage, omitted no part of her former attentions, either towards the King, and Queen, or even to others: She practised, now, her innate mildness to her friends, to her at-

[b] Sir David Lyndsey died, in 1555.

[c] Burnet's Hist. Ref. i. 209: The Lord James, certainly, appeared, in the act of inviting Knox to Scotland, with the Earl of Glencairn, and Erskine of Dun, in March 1556. Keith, 65.

[d] Ib. 80-81.

tendants, which had adorned her virgin state: and, she, also, attended to those observances, which had instructed her infancy, with the same assiduity as in her girlish days. Though she knew her husband, the Dauphin, to be inferior to herself, in age, and in experience, she asked him to all councils, and ventured upon no step, without his privity. In consequence of this conduct, he shewed as much deference to his wife, as he had always done to his parents. This remarkable association of minds, and assimilation of manners, were pleasing to King Henry, and his Queen; but were accompanied with a singular prudence in both, Francis and Mary, by their taking no share, in the government of France, except so far as they were asked: so judicious, and so prudent, does Mary herein appear, when her character was viewed, in a reflection, from the mirror of truth. But, while the Scotish Queen was thus admired, in France, for the principles of her heart, and the qualities of her head, Cecil busied himself, in collecting against her matters of charge[e]. It was not enquired, it seems, how far the Scotish Queen partook, in the impertinence of ushers, or in the imprudence of poets, when those offerings were made, at the shrine of vanity.

But, a great change had now taken place, on the 10th of July 1559, when Henry II. demised[f]. On the same day, Francis II., aged fifteen, mounted the throne. He found the court divided into two factions; that of the house of Guise, and that of the Constable Montmorency:[g] After the revolt of the Constable de Bourbon, the princes of the blood did not find themselves in a condition to form a third. The youth, and weakness, of Francis, induced him to leave the cares of government to the Queen, his mother, who thought, that she had

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[e] See his Diary, in Murdin, 747-51. [f] L'Art de vérifier les Dates, i. 644.

[g] On the 27th of July, 1559, Cecil marks in his Diary, "the Constable of France, stayed the publication of the style, and arms of England." Murdin, 749.

prudence, and address, quite equal to such a task: she knew how to balance all parties; but she hated the Constable Montmorency;[h] and fearing the princes of the blood, she preferred the princes of Lorraine: The Cardinal she nominated chief minister, and she placed the Duke of Guise, at the head of the army. Francis was so far happy, that he was married to a wife, who, besides other virtues, dedicated her whole attention to him; resembling more the painful; and solicitous regards of wives in common life, than a queen, by right, as well as by marriage. The people thanked God, for this courteousness, in her: and as every nation, ordinarily, resembles that of their governors, the population of that great kingdom began to hope, for many tranquil years, under a marriage so peaceful, and happy.

But, under the ambition of the great, and the fanaticism of the vulgar, what tranquillity was to be enjoyed long? In 1559, the Prince of Condé assembled the malcontents, in his castle de la Ferté, and laid before them his complaints against the court, with those of the King of Navarre, his brother; the prince declared himself the chief of the proposed revolt: and measures were, at the same time, taken, to reunite, and associate the Huguenots in the same course. All those measures ended, during 1560, in the conspiracy *d'Amboise*, and other mischiefs[i]. But, as the Scotish Queen did not partake in the government, she had no concern in those measures of prevention, or punishment.

There is, certainly, great similarity, in the events of France, and of Scotland, if the one country did not copy the practices of

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[h] The Constable Montmorency, with all his wisdom, had been so imprudent, as to say, "that of all the King's children, the only one, that resembled the father, was *Diana*, his natural daughter.

[i] In October 1560, the King caused arrest the Prince of Condé, and the King of Navarre: The first was condemned to death; but, owing to circumstances, the execution was delayed.

the other. The peace of Cateau Cambresis, in April 1559, as it comprehended Scotland, put an end to what has been called, in the Scotish annals, the two years war[k]. The Scotish people were thus left free, to engage with more energy in civil contest, while Elizabeth was bound not to mingle in their disputes, political, or religious. The frequent vacillations of the Regent Queen induced even her official servants, including Secretary Maitland, to revolt, from her, to her avowed enemies. Yet the domestic war was carried on, for some time, with more show, than reality; owing to the weakness of both parties. On the 25th of June, the insurgents took possession of Perth, a military position of great importance, even from Roman times, which the Regent tried to relieve, by treaty, rather than by force. The abbey of Scone, the scene of so many coronations, was soon after burnt, by the reformers. The religious houses, at Stirling, at Linlithgow, and at Edinburgh met a similar fate, from the same unhallowed fires The Regent encountered force, by proclamations, which were easily answered, by remonstrances. Neither was she much invigorated, by the accession of Francis, and Mary, to the French throne, in July 1559. The Regent continued to act, as if her hands had been fettered with hooks of steel, while the leaders of the reformers were free to follow the dictates of their zeal,

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[k] Rymer Foed. xv. 503—13. There were two treaties; one for Scotland; and one for France. The Regent Queen sent commissioners to ratify the treaties, as far as they related to Scotland: Ib. 518. In those treaties, there is nothing said of the King and Queen of Scots, calling themselves, King and Queen of England and Ireland, though Elizabeth called herself Queen of France. There was entered into; on the 31st of May, at Upsetlington, a supplementary treaty, with regard to the affairs of the Borders. [Rym. xv. 520.] And at this late date, there is nothing done, or said, of the Scotish Queen having assumed the titles of England, though Cecil had noted the Queen's assumption, on the 16th of January preceding. The accession of Francis II. to that treaty, on the 10th of July 1559, when there was some consultation, it seems, for the French King's style; and arms, in Cecil's Diary. Murdin, 749.

or ambition: Her slightest motion was deemed a breach of some stipulation of forbearance; while the reformers considered themselves, as unfettered, by any tie. It is easy to perceive, in a struggle, between irresolution and zeal, which party must succeed. As early, as the first of August 1559, in a meeting of the reformers, at Stirling, they resolved "to "seek support, from all Christian princes, especially, from "England, against the tyranny, or weakness of the Regent[l]." They forgot, that they were themselves acting against law, which was the tyrant, that pressed upon them, and not the Regent's imbecility. Nor, was their resolution retarded, by a menacing letter, which was, soon after, brought, from Francis, and Mary, to the commendator of St. Andrews, her bastard brother, who now influenced Scotland.

A reinforcement of a thousand French troops was of far more importance, while the appeal was to physical force, and not of argument. It was immediately resolved, by the Regent, to fortify Leith, the seaport of Edinburgh. She requested greater supplies; assuring the rulers of France, if reinforcements were speedily sent, she would soon reduce the whole kingdom to a quiet state. She strengthened these requests, by intimations, that the reformers had applied, for succours, to England, Denmark, Germany, and even to some persons, in France. But, it was found more easy, to send a legate, from Rome, with doctors, from the Sorbonne, than armies, and fleets[m].

The insurgents did not apply to England, in vain, whatever treaties might exist, between that country, and France. Secretary Cecil, in considering that application, in August 1559, said: "If the Queen, and Dauphin will not grant certain "points; then may the Estates commit the government to "the next heir of the crown: If the Queen (Mary) will not

[l] Keith, 101.

[m] Keith, 102.

" comply; then is it apparent, God Almighty is pleased, to trans-
" fer from her the rule of the kingdom, for the weal of all."
Beyond this jacobinical reasoning, which defied the established law, Goodwin, and Knox, could not have gone, in their wildest ebullitions of zeal. Cecil, following up this policy of superseding the legitimate government of Scotland, by the presumptive heir, sent Randolph to France, in order to bring the Earl of Arran into Britain;[n] and he directed Sadler, to repair to Scotland, with such instructions, as were analogous to his reasoning.

Incited by the favourable sentiments of the English court, the principal reformers again assembled, at Stirling, on the 10th of September 1559. They, immediately, obtained a great accession to their party, by the junction of the Duke of Chatelherault, the heir presumptive of the crown. This feeble statesman was now gained, by his son, Arran, who had imbibed Huguenoterie, while acting as a colonel, in the French guards. After these accessions, the chief reformers took higher ground. The duke, with other lords, sent remonstrances to the Regent, against fortifying Leith. They affected astonishment, that she should deviate thus early, after the late agreement, *by planting a colony of foreigners*, so near the metropolis. Wide is the distance, between popular topicks, and solid sense: The French were not *foreigners*, in Scotland, any more than Scotsmen were foreigners, in France: Neither were the two kingdoms foreign to each other: So it had been settled, in the year before, by the Estates of Scotland, in consequence of the Queen's marriage. As the reformers were acting against established law; so were they acting against the will of the Estates, on

[n] Arran was brought, safely, into England; and smuggled, through the mountains of Cumberland into Clydesdale; so that Arran arrived, at Hamilton-house, before the Scotish government knew, that he had left France: As Arran was a furious Huguenot, this was a great accession to the zeal of the reformers. [Murdin, 748.] The duke, his father, was supposed, to be too supine, for a reformer.

this occasion. They intreated the Regent to desist, from her purpose, of overawing the country, into a tyrannical subjection, lest they should be driven, to seek the concurrence of their fellow subjects, for resisting force, by violence. A war of writing now began, in which the Regent had as much the superiority, as the insurgent lords had the advantage, in a war of tumult[o]. The reasonings of the Regent Queen were not answered then: Neither have the latest historians of the disgraceful transactions of the year 1559, pretended to answer arguments, arising, naturally, out of known facts, and acknowledged law.

As soon as the Regent's purpose of making Leith a place of arms, was known, then the reformers seized Broughty castle, at the mouth of the Tay, the same commanding station, that had been, corruptly, acquired, by Edward VI. They came to Edinburgh, on the 18th of October, with a resolution to dislodge the Regent's forces, from Leith. At the same time, she retired, from the insecure palace of Holyrood-house, to the safer garrison of Leith. None of the publications of the Queen Regent seem to have been attended, with more immediate effects, than the charge against the Duke of Chattelherault, with his associated nobles, that they intended to usurp the government[p]. The duke, immediately, made an expurgatory declaration, by sound of trumpet, at the cross of Edinburgh, that neither he, nor his sons, had any intention, to affect preeminence, or to usurp the regal authority; and had only joined themselves to the insurgents, to support the cause of religion, and to maintain the liberty of the country;[q] and he might have added, against all law. She now assumed the tone of

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[o] Printed papers now began to be circulated, throughout the kingdom, by the activity of both parties. Knox seems to own, as Keith, p. 102, remarks, that the Queen's papers gained the most credit.

[p] Keith, 103. [q] Id.

Regent, within the realm: She caused it to be signified to them, that she considered their letter, rather as the commands of a prince to his subjects, than the requests of subjects to those bearing rule over them; that she wondered how any one could presume, to command her, within that realm, which dreaded not to be conquered, by force, since it had already been acquired, by marriage; that the Frenchmen could not, with any truth, be called strangers; as they had been naturalized, by the legislature; that she could not exclude any person out of Leith, but as she found it expedient: She protested her affectionate regard for the country, wherein she had so long lived: and she commanded the duke, and his coadjutors, to depart, from Edinburgh, under the pain of treason[r]. They were not, however, terrified, by those threats, nor convinced, by those reasonings: The chief reformers opposed both, by an act, deposing the Regent, from the authority, which had been conferred, by the joint authority of the Queen, and the three Estates[s]. They claimed a *right to do wrong*; to be supreme over the supremest; *as born counsellors*, to possess more authority, than the highest authority; and, they arrogated the privilege of writing, nonsensically, however popularly, and of acting contrary to every principle of religion, and rule of law[t]. The duke, and his coadjutors, thus justified the open declarations of the Queen Regent, "that "they designed to usurp the government." And, in pursuance of this design, they proceeded "to form a council, for the "government of the realm, to the use of their sovereign lady[u]." The effrontery, or the folly, of such conduct is without example; of public men acting, avowedly, against their declarations, and of resisting a sovereign's authority, for the use of the same sovereign.*

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[r] Keith, 103. [s] See the Act, in Keith, 105. [t] Ib. 106.

[u] Ib. 106-7; where Keith points out some strange misconceptions of Burnet: and see, in Keith, iii. a proclamation of the duke, as governor under Francis and Mary, dated the 29th of November 1559, which must have been feigned.

But, the force of the usurpers was not equal to their intentions. After summoning the garrison of Leith, they attempted to take it, by escalade, but, without the success, that might have been expected, from their valour, which, indeed, was opposed, by equal valour, and more discipline[v]. A part of the besieging army mutinied, for want of pay. Their leaders tried to raise money, in vain: and, they applied to Elizabeth's governor of Berwick, who entrusted Cockburn, of Ormiston, to carry them four thousand crowns; but, he was intercepted, by James, Earl Bothwell, who appropriated the plunder to his own use, yet, to their detriment. The men of Dundee attempted to assault Leith: But, the garrison, sallying out, repulsed them to the gates of Edinburgh. The Earl of Arran, and the commendator of St. Andrews, attempting to intercept the garrison, were not only routed, but even effected their escape, with some difficulty. In this untoward state of their affairs, the reformers retired, from Edinburgh, which was so full of danger; and found a safer residence, at Stirling. Here, amidst their despondency, they resolved, to send Maitland, the revolted secretary of the Queen Regent, to Elizabeth's court, to represent the sad state of their affairs, towards the close of the eventful year 1559[w].

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[v] The scaling ladders had been made, in St. Giles's church, to the great scandal of the preachers, who foretold, "that God could not long suffer such a country, "to remain unpunished." [Keith, 108.] The fact is, that raw, and undisciplined men were brought to assault a fortified town, which was defended by veteran troops, which were used to sieges.

[w] Keith, iii. The following notices, from Cecil's Diary, throw some light, on this subject: August 7th 1552, Sir Ralph Sadler sent into the North; to assist the Earl of Northumberland; being warden with Sir James Croft. November, the Queen of Scots made her entry into Chattelherault, where her style was published, of Queen of England. 17th November, a consultation, for the state of the realm; and the Duke of Norfolk to be lieutenant in the North, Lord Grey to be warden, in the east marches. December 16, William Winter sent with a navy of ships to the north seas; and so he went to the Frith (of Forth.) 1559-60, January,

It did not require the talents, and eloquence, of Secretary Maitland, to persuade Elizabeth, that she had an interest, in supporting the insurgents of Scotland[x]. She assured them, by a messenger, that she would give them assistance, upon such conditions, as commissioners might easily adjust[y]. The afflictive war, in Scotland, continued. These petty hostilities were not suspended, when Admiral Winter cast anchor before Leith, in January 1559-60. The English admiral was not instructed, to make direct war, either on the French, or Scots governments: But, to pretend, that he searched for pirates, and at the same time, to harass both, by every vexatious proceeding, without avowing his orders[z]. Such were the artifices of Elizabeth, and Cecil. Elizabeth disavowed any design of a direct attack on Scotland, either by sea, or land; while she supplied the insurgents with money, and protected them, by her fleet. Norfolk came to Berwick, as her lieutenant, on the borders; to watch over the affairs of Scotland; and to countenance the insurgents. He invited the chief reformers to a negotiation, which might enable both parties, to understand

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Lyddington (Secretary Maitland) was at Westminster, to be conferred withal, for Scotish matters. 12th January, the Earl of Lennox sent one Nisbet, to shew his title against the Duke of Chattelherault. February 18th, Lyddington returned to Scotland. February 27th, the accord made, by the Duke of Norfolk, at Berwick, with the Lord James, Lord Ruthven, Laird of Pitarrow, and Mr. Maxwell, (the insurgent reformers.) The accord was made, in the name of the Duke of Chattelherault; while Lennox sent an agent to make claims, on the duke. March 24th, a proclamation, by her majesty, to declare her mind, to keep peace both with France and Scotland, notwithstanding the occasions given [by] the Fr. King, and his wife, the Q. of Scots, in claiming the title to the crown. March 28th, the army entered Scotland, by land, with the Lord Grey, [as commander.] We here see the commencement of Elizabeth's dissimulation, she declared her purpose of peace; yet immediately drew her sword!

[x] Keith, 113. [y] Ib. 114; App. No. 19.

[z] Keith, 116, quotes Strype's Annals, for this representation. The rough draught of his instructions is in the Paper Office, and justifies Strype's assertions.

each other. And, at Berwick, they entered into a very singular treaty, by which, under various pretences, she took Scotland, under her protection, during the marriage of the Scotish Queen, at the request of her rebellious subjects[a].

All parties now made preparations, to execute their several designs. A reinforcement of French troops arrived at Leith, which was quite unequal to the occasion. Elizabeth reinforced her fleet, which lay in the Forth: and, she put her army, in motion, from Berwick, early in April, which was to aid the insurgents, in Scotland. The Regent Queen now retired, in despair, into the castle of Edinburgh, which was held, by Lord Erskine, under the authority of the three Estates[b]

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[a] The above treaty is in Keith, 117; and in Rym. xv. 569. The parties to it are Elizabeth, and the Duke of Chattelherault. There is nothing of religion, or reformation in it. It is to prevent the conquest of Scotland, otherwise than it now is, by the marriage of the Queen to Francis II. It engages, that the Earl of Argyle shall aid Elizabeth, in Ireland. It is quite an anomaly, in diplomatic annals: It is, in fact, a treaty between one sovereign, and the subjects of another sovereign; enabling them, to maintain an usurpation upon the authority of their own sovereign. Elizabeth, thus, by means of a faction, endeavoured to overrule the authority of the Estates of the realm. This was sufficiently abominable, in her; but, it was still more base, in the odious men, who acted as her instruments.

[b] Keith, 122: From her household book, it appears, that on the 1st of April 1560, she went, after dinner, from Holyrood-house to Edinburgh castle; where she remained, till her death, *at one of the clock, in the morning, of the 11th of June* 1560. Her train continued, in the castle, till the 10th of July, when her household book ends. Her body was put into a coffin of lead; in October 1560, it was carried to France: and she was buried, in the Benedictine monastery of St. Peter, at Rheims, of which her sister René was then abbess. In the Treasurer's accounts of June 1560, there are the following charges:

To John Weir, pewterer, for ane wobe of leid,—to be an sepulture, to inclose the queen's grace in,	£4	15	0
To the said John, for sowdere the said wobe	1	12	0
To 2 hund. dur nalis to the queen's sepulture	0	3	0
To 2½ elnes of black gray, to hing the chapel in the castle, the queen's graces body lyand therein	6	2	4

Worn out by cares, and infirmities, here, she died, regretted, by the nation, which had been distracted, by the perseverance, and pretensions of the reformers, that were neither opposed, by sufficient firmness, in her, nor gained, nor eluded, by her vacillation. The Queen died, in a state of peace with every one; and she even forgave those nobles, who, for so many years, had opposed her government, and insulted her person[c]. Not so Knox: "Shortly after she finished her unhappy life," said he, "unhappy, we say, to Scotland, from the first day she "entered into it, unto the day, that she departed this life. "God, for his great mercy's sake, rid us, from the rest of "the Guisiane blood! Amen! For, of the tyranny of the "Guisiane blood, in her, [Mary] that, for our unthankfulness, "now reigneth above us, we have had sufficient experience. "But, of any virtue, that ever was espied, in King James V. "(whose daughter, she is called) to this hour, we have never "seen any spark to appear[d]." For forms of faith, let graceless bigots fight: What is the value of religion, if it do not mollify the heart, to charity; if it do not meliorate the hand, to peace on earth!

The prudence, and œconomy of the Regent Queen's administration form a remarkable contrast to the profuse, and selfish government of the Duke, as both appear, in the records[e]. He spent the whole of the treasure, which had been left by James V.

The principal persons, who entered the castle with the Regent were the Archbishop of St. Andrews, the Bishop of Dunkeld, the Earl Marshal, and Sir James Mac Gill, the clerk register. These two last attended the Regent, to betray her: Whilst the Regent resided, in the castle, several of her letters to the French ambassadors, in Scotland, were intercepted, and decyphered, contrary to the practice of diplomacy; But, in Cecil's creed, every thing convenient was lawful.

[c] Spottiswoode, 146; Keith, 128-9.

[d] The above passage was copied, literally, from the *first* edition of Knox's history, 8vo. p. 447-8

[e] See the treasury accounts, and the privy seal register.

in Edinburgh castle: and he accumulated a great mass of debt, before he relinquished the helm, when he left the Queen's income, in a very unproductive state. When he was about to resign, he made many grants of the casualties of the crown to his natural brother, the archbishop, the treasurer; as there was a balance of superexpenditure, in his accounts, of £30,000. By those numerous grants, he left his successor very scanty funds, to answer the public expenditure. By œconomical management, she, gradually, improved the Queen's revenue; and at the end of a few years administration, the public was free of debt, and the income was quite equal to the expenditure, when the insurgents sallied out, in quest of something to blame, and still more something to amend. Henry II., in the meantime, left France 42 millions in debt, which embarrassed the administration of Francis: In fact, before the month of March 1560, the prudent administration of the Cardinal of Lorraine, had discharged this burden on the state; so as to leave it, in a condition to abolish taxes[f]. But, if a kingdom be worth gaining, it must be worth retaining. The Regent Queen, when frequent insurrection required additional expenditure, was obliged to pawn her jewels, while the Cardinal was occupied, in paying off the debts of France[g]. The Lord James expended the whole of his income, ecclesiastical, and civil, within Scotland, and France, in giving pensions, and gratuities, to his numerous partizans, who supported his pretensions, and promoted his views, whatever they were.

During the short war, which ensued, experience evinced, that confidence does not always ensure success. The confederated Scots, and English, after several attempts discovered,

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[f] Ab. Bevy's Hist. de la Noblesse, 508.

[g] By the Queen's special command, on the 4th of February 1561-2, the treasurer paid £1000. to Hume of Blackadder, "for a cross of gold, that lay in pledge to "him, by the Queen Regent, for that sum."

that the vigilance of the French was not to be surprised, nor their discipline to be overcome, by whatever valour[h]. The assailants, were repulsed, in their assault, on the 6th of May. The besiegers, perceiving that Leith was not to be soon taken, either by their skill, or bravery, grew weary of warfare. Negotiators were already on the road towards Edinburgh, to treat of pacification[i]. At Berwick, on the 14th of June, they entered into a preliminary treaty, with regard to the modes of conducting the principal negotiation[k]. They now went forward to Edinburgh, where they found no legitimate government, for the Scotish nation. Both France, and England, desired peace, from their necessities. And, upon the 5th of July, they agreed upon a second treaty, for the evacuation of Leith, and the demolition of its fortification[l]. There was much more difficulty occurred, in making what has been, emphatically, called *the Peace of Edinburgh*[m]. There were only two points, which required much consideration, as they were of great delicacy; especially as the powers of the French negotiators were defective, in respect to both: The sixth article, with regard to *the titles* of the two queens; and the eighth, concerning the insurgents of Scotland. As to the sixth, both the recital, and the agreement, are too strongly worded; the recital, that the

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[h] Keith, 126.

[i] The commission, by Francis and Mary, to their commissioners, was dated on the 2d of May 1560. The English commission was dated the 5th of May 1560. The supposititious commission, concerning the Scots, was dated at Rémorentin, on the 2d of June 1560; six days, only, before the English, and French ambassadors arrived, at Newcastle. This circumstance intimates some suspicion. On the 6th of May, Randan came to London, bringing the commission, under which the French ambassadors were to treat: But, who brought the supposed commission of the 2d of June; enabling the same negotiators, to treat with the insurgents of Scotland? No one: This commission, then, of the 2d of June, cannot be freed from suspicion of fraud: In plain English, it was a forgery.

[k] See it, in Keith, 131-2.

[l] Ib. 132-3.

[m] Rym. Foed. xv. 593; Leonard, ii. 567; Keith, 134-6.

kingdoms of England, and of Ireland, do, by right, pertain, to Elizabeth, threw the Scotish Queen too much in the wrong, when she assumed the title of Queen of England and Ireland; Elizabeth claiming the title of Queen of France, about which there could be no doubt, if the law of France, were to decide the title: Upon that recital, it was agreed, and concluded, that the King and Queen of France should, *in all times coming*, abstain, from using, and bearing the arms, and title, of the kingdoms of England, and Ireland: Now; this agreement denuded the Scotish Queen, who was heir presumptive to the crown of England, of all future pretensions to the crown: The stipulation ought to have been, *not in all times coming*; but *during the life of Elizabeth*. Considering, moreover, the defective powers of the French negotiators,[n] to treat of a matter of that importance, in addition to the wording of the clause, those circumstances created an insuperable objection to the ratification of such a treaty.

As to article eight, concerning the Scotish insurgents; it appears, that the French negotiators had acceded to certain supplementary petitions, presented, by the nobility, and people, of the said King, and Queen; tending to their honour, and to the benefit of Scotland, as well as the obedience of the people: And such concessions being made, at the intercession, and request of Elizabeth; it was stipulated with her commissioners, that Francis and Mary should fulfil those concessions: If a detail of those concessions had been annexed to this treaty, with Elizabeth, according to the practice of diplomacy, as it ought to have been, there could have arisen not the least difficulty, or question. In that age, there were not two abler diplomatists than Cecil, and Wotton: And by

[n] They avowed, in Article VII. that they had no authority to treat, or conclude any thing, concerning those particulars, namely, the respective titles of the two queens.

neglecting, to annex those concessions to this treaty, with Elizabeth, as a part thereof, they showed, that *some fraudulence was concealed, under that defect.* When we throw our eyes around, in quest of that detail of concession to the insurgents of Scotland, which is referred to, in *the treaty of Edinburgh*; and which we may suppose was a grant of pardon for treason, and forgiveness, for failings of duty; what do we find? We see a commission, from Francis and Mary, to the same negotiators, dated at Remorentin, on the 2d of June, in the fifth year of Francis, and the sixteenth of Mary's reign, instead of the eighteenth. We have already seen, from the circumstances of its first appearance, that this commission was liable to the charge of forgery; and this charge is confirmed, by the anachronism of the date, in the Queen's reign[o]. When we inspect the treaty, which followed that supposititious power, we find a grant, from the French ambassadors, who had no authority, of the Queen's sovereignty to the Scotish insurgents; and instead of pardon, and forgiveness, to those unworthy characters, we see the whole constitution changed, in their favour[p]. No one, in Britain, or in France, has ever seen the original treaty; we only perceive a certified copy, by men, who were in the habit of forgery, at the request of Cecil, which is only another name, for artifice. The persons, who thus gave a certified copy of the Scotish branch of the Edinburgh treaty, ought to have deposited the original, in the archives of Scotland. Cecil, and Wotton, stated the substance of its contents, in their letter to Elizabeth, on the 8th of July, 1560, from Edinburgh; and of course, became responsible, for the existence of such a treaty[q].

Peace was, by those means, restored: But, law, and right, were not re-established: The Queen was denuded of her kingdom, while her government remained, apparently, in the hands

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[o] Keith, 143-4. Ib. 137—143.

[q] See a dissertation on this subject, in the App. No. 11, to Murray's Memoir.

of the duke, her presumptive heir, though it was, really, possessed, by Lord James, her father's bastard. Even before the treaty was settled, summonses seem to have been issued, by whatever power, to assemble a Parliament, which met, at Edinburgh, on the 10th of July, four days, only, after the signature of the treaty. But, this convention, immediately, adjourned to the 1st of August then next. Nor was there any attempt made, before this important meeting, to obtain the Queen's ratification of a treaty, which deprived her of so much, and left her so little: Neither was it ever ratified, by her, or by any one having authority, from her. In the meantime, reformed ministers were appointed to the several towns, by whatever nomination, however contrary to law.

A convention, under the late adjournment, assembled, at Edinburgh, on the 1st of August 1560[r]. A singular scene, for a Scotish convention, now ensued. Some members mentioned, that no Parliament could be called, without the sovereign's summons: nor could any Parliament sit, without the sovereign's presence, either personally, or by commission. Other members, referring to the late treaty, though not ratified, contended that it might sit, under an article of it, though whether, the treaty was genuine, or spurious, did not appear; it was by a majority resolved, "that the said article, in the "treaty, was a sufficient warrant, for their present meeting[s]." The vehemence of the times, and the zeal of members, who had never sat, in Parliament, before, were deemed sufficient authorities for their irregular meeting. They abolished the established religion: Nor, would they attend to the claims of the established clergy, though stipulated, in their own treaty: And they settled, in its room, the Calvinism of Knox. The convention ratified *the confession of faith*, then professed. It attempted to repeal former laws, in favour of the established

[r] Keith, 146. [s] Keith, 148.

church, *by deleting them forth of the bukis.* The Pope's authority was renounced. An act of oblivion was passed, which left it doubtful, whether those, who acted under lawful authority, were indemnified. They directed a person, to repair to Paris; in order to solicit the Queen's ratification of those acts, and the treaty, whereon they were founded, though it is sufficiently apparent, that the Queen could not listen to such requests, under such circumstances[t]. The last act of this convention, but not the least, was a deputation to Elizabeth, consisting of the Earls of Morton, and Glencairn, and Secretary Maitland; to court that prudish queen, to accept the Huguenot Arran, for her husband[u]. She declined this offer, which meant more than met the ear, with affected thanks, but real promises of support, to a nation, which had so well merited her good will[v]. On this point, the dissemblers, on both sides, agreed: In France, it was not overlooked, that a deputation of dignity had been sent, to court Elizabeth; while a simple knight had been directed to their sovereign, to solicit her approbation of what could not be approved, by any maxim of prudence, or any attention to her dignity.

From the different modes, in which the two Queens were treated, by the convention, we may suppose, that the members hoped for little, from their own sovereign, whatever they expected, from the English Queen. Sir James Sandilands was, hardly, admitted to an audience; and he was sent away, with reproaches, from the French ministers, rather than with any ratification, by the Scotish Queen: Neither could the Queen, after her return to her kingdom, ever be prevailed on, to acknowledge the legitimacy of that convention: Nor, were the

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[t] Keith, 152, App. 91: Acta Parl. ii. 525—35.

[u] Keith, 159: Acta Parl. ii. 599.

[v] Ib. 156. Elizabeth, as we know, from Randolph's letters, was dissatisfied; because the negotiators did not court her long enough.

proceedings of that meeting ever printed, by any authority, during her reign[w]. Nothing could be expected, in regard to that convention, other than what, actually, happened, both, in France, and in Scotland: The convention was unconstitutional, was illegal, in every view, in which it could be regarded. Its proceedings could only be deemed the mere acts of an unlawful assembly. They became legitimate, when the Parliament of December 1567, which was called, by a King, *in possession of the crown*, declared the convention, and its proceedings, to be constitutional. The solicitations of Elizabeth, for the ratification of the treaty of Edinburgh, were not more successful, though received with more attention[x]. The Scotish Queen saw her interest, more clearly, than the French ambassadors had done, when they gave up her reversionary title to the crown of England, while they admitted, that they had no commission, to treat upon the point. As she had been thus badly served, she resisted every request, for the ratification of such a treaty. Elizabeth supposing that she had the advantage, determined to persevere, in her instances. The Scotish Queen resolved, with equal firmness, never to relinquish her pretensions to the crown of England, after the demise of Elizabeth. In this temper, the two Queens continued till an event happened, which gave a new turn to the affairs of the Queen of Scots: After lingering some time, Francis II. died, on the 5th of December 1560, of an imposthume, in the ear[y]. The Queen of Scots soon perceived, from the altered manner of the Queen mother, that she had little to hope, from the French government, however

[w] Keith, 153-4.

[x] On the 2d of September Elizabeth ratified the treaty of Edinburgh: But, when she asked the ministers of France, for a similar ratification, from the French King, and Queen, those ministers easily found reasons, for their refusal, in her own conduct, with regard to Scotland. Murdin, 751. The treaty of Edinburgh, says Cecil, was confirmed, by her majesty: But, the Scotish Queen would not accept it.

[y] L'Art de vérifier les Dates, 1. 647.

her relations stood: And the Scotish Queen retired to Rheims, and spent the winter, with her aunt, the abbess, and her other relatives[z].

Meantime, as early as, November 1560, the French government dispatched certain persons with a commission, from the King, and Queen; appointing the Duke, Argyle, Huntley, Bothwell, Athole, the Lord James, and the Archbishop of St. Andrews, or any three of them, to hold Parliaments, in the Queen's absence. And, Bothwell was sent off, at the same time, to give his assistance, in a measure, which was designed, to restore a legitimate administration, in Scotland. They arrived at Edinburgh, early, in the subsequent spring. But, Secretary Maitland, with his usual address, discovered the various objects of this commission, and with his accustomed perfidy, communicated the whole to Secretary Cecil. As the popular party declined to act, under this appointment, since it put an end to their usurpation, the commission was attended with no effect[a].

The Scotish Queen, thus became a widow, at the age of eighteen. And the many ties, which connected Scotland, and France, together, now became unbound. Yet, in conducting her affairs, after that event, which separated her interests, from those of France, she displayed a clearness of perception, powers of policy, and firmness of purpose, that evinced great capacity, as a sovereign, and uncommon address, as a woman. The solicitation of the one Queen, for the ratification of the Edinburgh treaty, was so often repeated, and so firmly refused, by the other, as evinced the anxiety of Elizabeth, and the

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[z] There remains, in the British Museum, Harl. MSS. 6990, Art. 2, a letter from an English gentleman, at Orleans, the last of December 1560, to the Lord Robert Dudley; giving an account of the discreet behaviour of Mary, after the demise of the French King, her husband, &c.

[a] The documents, in the Paper office, establish those facts, which seem to be unknown to Scotish history.

address of Mary[b]. The treaty had been already executed, in all its material points, except the informal change, relating to the Scotish Queen's pretensions to the English crown, after Elizabeth's demise: If the clause had been worded, according to the real pretensions of both those sovereigns, the Queen of Scots would have had no just cause to reject it.

The notice of the demise of Francis II. was received, in Scotland, by some, with joy, by others, with apprehension. A convention was called, by those, who had assumed the government, to meet on the 15th of January. The lord James is said to have been appointed, to repair to the Queen—to persuade her Majesty, to return to Scotland: and he was admonished, not to consent, that she should have the mass, in any manner; as if the established church had been abolished, by the acts of a convention, which as yet had no valid authority. Another convention was appointed for the 20th of May. A different party of no small importance, hastened, to send the well-known Lesley, the Vicar-general of Aberdeen, who is better known, as Bishop of Ross; to offer their duty, and services, to the Queen[c]. Lesley, who sailed, from Aberdeen to the Brill, arrived before the Lord James, who took London, in his way. He appears, to have warned the Queen of the artifices of her brother; and to have persuaded her of the fidelity of a great body of faithful adherents: she commanded him to remain in France, till her return to Scotland: and to assure the nobles, and prelates, whom he represented, of her favour towards them[d]. The Lord James arrived, on the morrow: and, faithfully, promising to serve her to the utmost of his power, assured her, that the whole Scotish nation would obey her, without the aid of foreign force: he appears, even now, to have gained an ascendency over the Queen, which he never lost, after all his

[b] See the dates of those numerous applications, for a ratification, in Cecil's Diary. Murdin, 751-3. See Keith, 161—80.

[c] Keith 57.

[d] Ib. 160.

aims at her crown: He meantime asked, for the earldom of Murray, which she gave him reason to expect; when she became restored to her legitimate government[e]. He seems to have returned somewhat disappointed: He arrived, at Paris, on the 4th of April, 1561, and left it, on the 4th of May[f]. As the Lord James was thus playing a double game, between Mary, and Elizabeth, for his own interest, he returned, through London, where he might consult with Cecil, to whom he recommended, as it is said, on sufficient authority, to intercept the Scotish Queen, on her voyage to Scotland[g].

He certainly brought no power with him, from the Queen, to govern for her, till her arrival, whatever Buchanan may say[h]. The convention of May 1561 acted without any valid authority. The French ambassador, de Noailles, coming to Edinburgh, before the Queen had left France; and applying to such a convention, for the renewal of ancient amity, received such an answer, as he might have foreseen, to his forward folly. Meantime, Elizabeth renewed her intrigues with the insurgents of Scotland. Randolph, her notorious envoy, was now sent into the north, in order to propagate discontent, amongst every rank, under the present circumstances, and to propose associations against their Queen's marriage[i]. Cecil, when he drew up the instructions of that intriguer, supposed,

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[e] Ib. 161. It should seem, however, from the Queen's letter to the English ambassador, 22 April 1561, from Nancy, "That the Lord James, who was then with "her, came, only, to pay his duty to her, as his Sovereign lady, without any com- "mission whatsoever, relating to any thing else." He thus concealed, with his usual artifice, whatever commission he may have had, from the convention, at Edinburgh. Keith's App. 91.

[f] Cecil's Diary; Forbes's State Letters, 1. 436. 7; Keith, 169.

[g] See Throckmorton's Letter to Elizabeth, from Paris, 1st. May 1561, in favour of Lord James.

[h] Buchanan, probably, confounded the above supposition, with the real commission, which arrived early in 1560-1.

[i] Keith, 156-57-59.

that, in obtaining his ends, all means were lawful, and every purpose moral.

Soon after the demise of Francis II., Lord, and Lady Lennox, on pretence of condoling the misfortune of the Scotish queen, began to court Mary, for their son, Darnley: and, considering his relationship, had the highest pretensions to her approbation. This intrigue was carried on, by letters, for some time: But, they could not long escape the eagle eyes of Cecil. Upon this discovery Lord, and Lady Lennox, were put into ward;[k] though their solicitude, for their son's advancement, was but a pitiful offence.

The unfriendly measures of Elizabeth, in Scotland, were, probably, intended, to facilitate her solicitations of Mary's acceptance of the treaty of Edinburgh, while she complimented the Scotish Queen, on the recovery of her health[l]. On the 20th of July 1561, when the Queen was on her journey for Scotland, she fairly met the ambassador, Throckmorton, by appointment, to discuss this litigated subject. This is the first display of the Scotish Queen, when she was going nineteen, and without advisers, to discuss, singly, with an experienced Statesman, the fitness of refusing her ratification of the treaty of Edinburgh: and, on this memorable occasion, she exhibited great talents for business, great firmness of resolution, great vigour of head, and still greater sensibility of heart: In the end, she desired to go over the several articles of the treaty, that he might judge, "whether they be not very cogent reasons, which his Queen takes, for vain excuses, and delays:—The 1st article in that treaty, for confirming the truce of Cambray, does not, in the least concern me: the 2d, which relates to the signing the treaty there made, between the English, and Scots, was ratified, by my husband, who is expressly named therein:

[k] Murdin, 753: Feb. 1561-2. The Earl of Lennox in custody, with the Master of the Rolls. April 25, Lady Lennox in custody at Shene, with Sir Richard Sackville.

[l] Keith, 165.

the 3d, 4th, and 5th articles, are already fulfilled; I have, since my husband's death, quitted the arms, and titles, of England; to raze, and strike them out of all the moveables, buildings, and charters, in France, is a thing no way, in my power; and it is more than I can do, to send back the Bishop of Valence, and Randan, who are no subjects of mine, into England, to a conference, about the 6th article: as for *the last article*, I hope my rebel subjects will not complain of any great severity towards them. But, your mistress, I perceive, designs to prevent any proofs, I might show of a merciful disposition, towards them, by resolving to hinder my return. What is there now behind, in this treaty, that can any way prejudice the affairs of your mistress? Nevertheless, to give her the fullest satisfaction, I design to write to her about these matters, with my own hand, though she would not vouchsafe me an answer, but by her Secretary. But, I would advise you, who are an ambassador, to act, suitably, to that character; I mean, rather to qualify, and compose matters, than to aggravate, and make them worse. Such was the display of the Scotish Queen, which evinces her talents, for the affairs of state! Only those men, who are in the habit of public business, could run over the several articles of an intricate treaty; so as to point out the true meaning of each. The whole negotiation shows, that Elizabeth, by urging so much the ratification of this treaty, was quite wrong; while Mary was quite right, in resisting it: Elizabeth seems to have supposed, that the Scotish Queen had not a right to refuse her acceptance of what her ambassadors had no right to discuss;[m] and much less, had no authority to

[m] There is reason to think, that, Elizabeth had been deluded to believe, that more had been granted to her prejudices, by the treaty, than the truth would justify: she expected, that the King and Queen of France would make an apology, for assuming her titles, while she owed none to them, for assuming the title of Queen of France, contrary to the fundamental law of France, which excludes females from the throne.

enter into a stipulation, that she never would claim the crown of England, after the demise of Elizabeth. Hard, indeed, would be the condition of sovereigns, if they could not disallow a treaty, which might have been made, by the ignorance, the folly, or the treachery, of their servants.

The Scotish Queen, finally, departed, from Paris, on her return to her native kingdom, on the 21st of July 1561. While she remained in France, after the decease of Francis II., she was called *la Reine blanche*[n]. She was accompanied to St. Germains, by the King, and Queen mother, the Duke of Anjou, and the King of Navarre. On the 25th of the same month, she set forward to the sea, attended, by her six uncles, the Duke de Nemours, and Mons. d'Amville, and other nobles of both sexes, who conveyed her to Calais, where two galleys, and four transports, lay ready, to receive her, with her suite, and moveables[o]. The Queen ceased not to direct her looks to the shore of France, until the darkness interrupted her wishful eyes. At the dawn of day, the coast of France was still in sight, the galleys having made but little way in the night. While it remained still in view, she often repeated: *Farewell, France! Farewell!* I shall never see you more[p].

In the meantime, Elizabeth sent out her fleet, with whatever orders, into the channel, through which Mary was expected to sail. The chiefs of Murray's faction, Argyle, Morton, Glencairn, wrote letters to Cecil; offering their services to

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[n] The Queen Dowager, says Cotgrave, was so called of the people of France; because she ever mourned, *in white*, a fashion, which was altered, at the funeral of Henry II. [July 1559] by the late Queen mother.

[o] She was at Abbeville, on the 8th of August; she was at Calais, on the 11th, and she embarked upon the 15th of August 1561, in one of the galleys, with her nearest relations.

[p] She composed on that occasion, *un chanson*, which, may be seen, in the Anthologie Françoise, Tom. 1. No. X.

Elizabeth[q]. Secretary Maitland, who was the organ of that faction, went one step further: in several letters, which he wrote to Cecil, he advised the interception of the Queen[r]. Yet, did the Scotish Queen arrive, safely, at Leith, on the 19th of August, at 9 o'clock, in the morning[s]. When Lady Lennox heard of this event, she fell down on her knees, and with uplifted hands, rendered thanks to God, for Queen Mary's safe arrival, notwithstanding the English ships[t]. This prayer of Lady Lennox is proof, that it was known to all the well informed persons, in London, that Elizabeth's fleet had been sent out, to bring in the Scotish Queen[u].

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[q] Those letters remain, in the Paper Office, the records of their treachery: and, see Keith, 156-61.

[r] Camden, who is the best informed writer, assures us, that "James, the bastard, "who returned, lately through England, gave private advices, to intercept her pas- "sage; for the safety of the Queen [Elizabeth], and the interest of religion: and "Lidington [Secretary Maitland] was of the same mind, as his letters intimate, "lest her return should raise mighty storms." Kennet's Col. 1, 387; Keith, 179; and Randolph's letter to Cecil of the 9th August [Robertson's App. No. V.] see another letter, from Maitland to Cecil, of the 9th of August. [Haynes, 369.] And see Maitland's long, and interesting letter to Cecil of the 10th of August 1561, in Keith's App. p. 92-4. The fact, then, is incontrovertible. Lord James, and his faction, had an interest, in what they recommended: for, if she had been intercepted, Lord James would have reigned, in Scotland.

[s] See Keith's Pref. xi, from the privy seal reg.; so that the fact is quite certain. Hardwick's St. Pap. 1, 176.

[t] When Cecil heard of this, in conjunction, with what he had learned of Lady Lennox's intrigues, with Mary, in France, on behalf of Darnley, he had her committed to ward. On this subject, there are some examinations, remaining in the Paper Office.

[u] Goodal, i, 175-6, quotes a MS., entitled, *Placita Secreti Concilii*, formerly in the Bishop of Ely's library, but now in the library of the University of Cambridge, for a speech of the Lord Keeper Bacon, in the cabinet, asserting that, the English ships had been sent out, when Mary sailed from Calais. I have, in my library, a MS. collection of the Speeches of Lord Keeper Bacon, in a hand, nearly, of the times, which agrees, exactly, with what is stated, in the *Placita Secreti Concilii*. See a Dissertation on this point, in the App. No. iii. to Murray's Memoir. Yet, says

The Scotish Queen, when she arrived in Scotland, was still in mourning, for her deceased husband. This she long continued, after her arrival. We may perceive how much, and how long she mourned, for Francis II., by the verses, which she wrote, on that occasion; and which have been preserved, in the *Anthologie Françoise.* Her vindicator, Whitaker, has translated them, in the following manner:—

I.

While, in a tone of deepest woe,
My sweetly mournful warblings flow,
I wildly cast my eyes around,
Feel my dread loss, my bosom wound,
And see, in sigh succeeding sigh,
The finest moments of my life to fly.

II.

Did destiny's hard hand before,
Of miseries such a store,
Or such a train of sorrows shed
Upon a happy woman's head?
Who sees her very heart, and eye,
Or in the bier, or in the coffin lie.

III.

Who, in the morning of my day,
And midst my flowers of youth most gay,
Feel all the wretchedness at heart,
That heaviest sorrows can impart;
And can in nothing find relief
But, in the fond indulgence of my grief.

Secretary Cecil, in his letter to Throckmorton of the 26th of August 1561, "The "19th of this present, early in the morning, the Scottish Queen arrived, at Leith, "with her two gallies; her whole train not exceeding 60 persons of meaner sort. "The Queen's Majesty's ships, that were upon the seas, to cleanse them from "pirates, saw her, and saluted her galleys; and staying her ships, examined them "of pirates, and dismissed them, quietly." [Hard. St. Pap. 1. 176.] The fact is, as we know, from the Treasurer's books, that the Queen's horses, and mules, were carried into England, and detained a month. We have now seen, how Secretary Cecil could write deliberate falsehood, for the good of the state.

IV.

What once of joy could lend a strain,
Is now converted into pain;
The day that shines with fullest light
Is now to me a darksome night;
Nor is there aught of highest joys,
That now my soul will condescend to prize.

V.

Full at my heart and in my eye
A portrait and an image lie,
That figure out my dress of woe,
And my pale face reflected show,
The semblance of the violets blue,
Unhappy love's own genuine hue.

VI.

To ease my sorely troubled mind,
I keep to no one spot confin'd,
But think it good to shift my place,
In hopes my sadness to efface;
For now is worst, now best again,
The most sequestrate solitary scene.

VIII.

Whether I shelter in the grove,
Or in the open meadow rove;
Whether the morn is dawning day,
Or evening shoots its level ray;
My heart's incessant feelings prove
My heavy mourning for my absent love.

VIII.

If at a time towards the skies,
I cast my sorrow dropping eyes,
I see his eyes sweet-glancing play
Amongst the clouds in every ray
Then in the cloud's dark water view,
His hearse display'd in sorrow's sable hue.

IX.

If to repose my limbs apply,
And slumbering on my couch I lie;
I hear his voice to me rejoin,
I feel his body touching mine;
Engaged at work, to rest applied,
I have him still for ever at my side.

X.

No other object meets my sight
However fair it seems or bright,
To which my heart will e'er consent
To yield itself in fond content
And robbed of the perfection be
Of this impassioned mournful sympathy.

XI.

But here my song, do thou refrain,
From thy most melancholy strain,
Of which shall *this* the burden prove;
" My honest heart-full lively love,
" Howe'er I am, by death *disjoined*,
" Shall never, never diminution find."

These lines, says the translator of them, have apparently very considerable merit, in the ideas, the imaginations, and the very genius of elegiac poetry: Every reader of taste must admire them, for their mournfulness, as well as fancy, that run through them. To a knowledge of the several tongues, and much other acquaintance of many affairs, the Scotish Queen had a lively taste, and a distinguished talent, for French poetry. See *les Mémoires de Brantôme, et les Anecdotes des Reines de France.* Mary was not only a poetess herself, but the cause of poetry in others: Many a *Vaudeville* was written on her departure, from France[y].

[y] Anthologie Françoise, Tom. i. 35. There was an appropriate elegy, on her leaving France, printed, at Lyon, by Rigaud, 1561, 8vo. pp. 4. The original is in my library.

SECTION III.

From the Queen's Return to Scotland, till her Northern Journey, in August 1562.

THE Queen arrived earlier than she had been expected, notwithstanding the efforts of the conspiracy, for intercepting her voyage. The nobles of the south had been summoned to greet her arrival; yet, no preparations had been made, to receive her; as the ruling persons still hoped, that she would be intercepted[w]. She remained on board her galley, till the evening; till the Lord Robert, had prepared Holyrood-house, for her reception. She was received, with the loud acclaims of the multitude, who had assembled to see, and to welcome her. High bred as she was, and instructed, in all the duties of a Queen, she received every one, graciously, and accommodated herself to her situation. She was accompanied, by her three uncles, the Duke d'Aumale, the grand prior, who commanded the galleys, the Marquis d'Elbeuf: and besides these, were Mons. d'Amville, the heir of the Constable Montmorency, with De Strozzy, La Noue, La Guiche, and other gentlemen of

[w] On the 7th of August 1561, summonses had been issued to the nobles, and barons—"to meet the Queen's entrance furth of France, against the last day of "August." But, she arrived, as we have seen, on the 19th of the same month. [Privy Seal Reg. xxx. f. 42.] She brought her jewels with her; Her tapestry, and the other furniture of her palace came afterwards. [Keith, 180.] There was only, in Holyrood-house, the Lord Robert, the Queen's bastard brother, to whose house she went, and gave orders to assemble her lords, with speed. [Hardw. St. Pap. i. 176.]

inferior note. She was acquainted with every character, in her kingdom: But, it was immediately seen, and soon felt, that her confidence was given to those, who had been most strenuous, for intercepting her: Her natural brother, the Lord James, was declared her *minion;* and he had under him Secretary Maitland, the ablest, and corruptest minister, in Britain, next to Cecil. The officers of state were, merely; the creatures of the chief minister[x]. Had the persons, in whom she chiefly confided, been honest men, her choice must have been approved, in putting her affairs into the charge of those, who possessed the confidence of the country: But, as we have seen, the existence of a conspiracy, against the Scotish Queen, by Elizabeth, and Cecil, on the one side, and the Lord James, and his faction, on the other, it is quite apparent, that she confided her person, and authority, to the chiefs of that conspiracy: But, such were the circumstances, wherein she was placed, that she was induced, by her policy, more than her prudence, in the choice, which she had made. With the same attentions, she proceeded in forming a new privy council; consisting of one bishop, and eleven temporal lords. They were mostly all partizans of the minion; and several of them had offered their duty, and services to Elizabeth; who had more influence, in such councils, than the Queen herself.

One of the first measures of the Scotish Queen was to issue a proclamation, charging her people on the Borders, not to

[x] The officers of state, at that epoch were: George, Earl of Huntley, the chancellor: After his fall, in 1562, the Earl of Morton was appointed his successor, *for life*. Richardson, the commendator of St. Mary's Isle, was the treasurer. Wishart of Pitarrow was the privy seal. Sir James Mac Gill was the clerk register. Sir John Bellenden was the justice clerk: and her advocates were Spens, and Crichton: But, above all, was W. Maitland, the secretary, who was entrusted with *the whole burden* of *foresight*, according to Cecil's expression; and we shall find, in our progress, that Secretary Maitland was the great *provider of plots*, while ambition found resources, in conspiracy, and assassination.

create disturbances, in any manner, nor give any occasion, for a violation of the treaty of peace with the Queen of England :[y] So anxious was the Scotish Queen to preserve tranquillity with her southern neighbour! Her next object was peace at home :[z]. For this great object, she issued proclamations; charging her subjects to behave quietly, and prohibiting any attempt at alteration, in the form of religion, which was then publickly, and generally standing, at her arrival[a]. The church establishment had still the whole statute book in its favour: For, what the reformers had done, in 1560, was neither legal, nor justifiable, till the Parliament of December 1567, declared their proceedings to be lawful.

Elizabeth hastened to congratulate the Scotish Queen, on her safe arrival; assuring her cousin, on the word of a Queen, though contrary to facts, that she had never entertained a thought of opposing her voyage, or intercepting her person. The bearer of such wordy congratulations was the notorious Randolph, who had resided, during the late insurrection, under various names, at the pseudo court of Hamilton; and was now accredited, as a proper resident, at Holyrood-house. He was received, and admitted, with good humour, by the Queen, though she knew his character: as he was still better known to the minister, and secretary. She was highly pleased with Elizabeth's congratulations on her arrival: And the Scotish Queen showed, by her answer, "that she desired heartily, "that she might live with Elizabeth, like good friends, and "neighbours; and desired nothing so much, as amity[b]." She,

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[y] Keith, 181. There are payments charged in the treasurer's books, for making those proclamations, on the 25th of August 1561, to that effect.

[z] Keith, 505. Holinshed, 377.

[a] The leading reformers, however, construed that proclamation, to be an establishment of their doctrines, and worship, and an abolition of the religion of the state. Keith, 190-1. But, she could not repeal, by a proclamation, a system of statute law.

[b] Keith, 182-3.

at the same time, sent Secretary Maitland to her good cousin of England, to avow the same spirit of amity, and to cultivate peace, in the true tone, and sentiment of peace[c]. From the tenor of his instructions, it is easy to perceive, that Secretary Maitland had a very easy task to perform, at the court of Elizabeth, where he was not a stranger. In his audience with that jealous Queen, he had only to return the compliments of his mistress, to profess her ardent wishes for peace, and to give her assurances of her concurrence in every measure, which could promote an end, so desirable: But, Maitland went beyond his instructions, and his prudence, when he proposed to Elizabeth, towards the conclusion of his audience, "that the "Queen of England should, by act of Parliament, declare the "Scotish Queen rightful heiress of the English crown, failing "Elizabeth, and her issue[d]." This proposal was even contrary to his instructions; as it tended to irritate Elizabeth, and to create constant enmity, between the two Queens. Had this offensive proposal come from an envoy of less talent, it might have been attributed to officious folly: But, such a proposal, from such a statesman, must be attributed to the treacherous purpose of villainy. Elizabeth seems thus to have been induced to send Sir Peter Mewtas to the Scotish Queen, to solicit the ratification of the treaty of Edinburgh. This last circumstance might lead those, who knew how intimate Cecil, and Maitland, were, to suspect, that the two secretaries had concerted the above proposal, in order to produce Mewtas's journey to Edinburgh.

The time was now at hand, when Mary's mortifications were

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[c] See his instructions, in Keith, 186: On the 31st of August, 1561, the Treasurer paid, by the Queen's command, to Mr. Secretary Maitland, passing to London, on the Queen's affairs, 500 crowns of the sun.

[d] Keith, 186, who quotes Camden, and Buchanan; but it did not require such authorities, to assure us, that Maitland was one of the basest of mankind; and was only inferior to Secretary Cecil, in ability, and artifices.

to begin, amidst slight attentions. On the 31st of August, a banquet was given to the Queen, and her relations, by the city of Edinburgh, which had more show, than sincerity, in it. On the 2d of September, she made her public entry, when she dined in the castle. As she came out of this fortlet, she was met, by a boy of six years old, who came, as it were, from heaven, who presented her a bible, a psalter, and the keys of the castle; and he spoke some verses, that were, no doubt, analogous to the scene: The rest of this ceremony consisted of terrible significations of the vengeance of God upon idolaters; and it had been proposed by them, if we may believe Randolph, "to have had a priest burnt, on the altar, at the elevation." Here, then, is a specimen of the talent, which then existed, for effecting the difficult contrariety, of offering honour, and insult, in the same moment[e].

On the same day, Knox, the reformer, had an audience of the Queen: And, he knocked so hastily, said Randolph to Cecil, upon her heart, that he made her weep: She charged him with his book on the government of women; with his severe dealing towards every one, that disagreed with him, in opinion, and she willed him to do what the scriptures, which he carried in his bosom, required, "to use more meekness in "his sermons[f]." When we recollect the admirable conduct of our Saviour, when upon earth, and observe the very contrary conduct of the preachers of that period, we might be led to suppose, that they neither followed the example, nor inculcated the genuine doctrines, of that divine personage.

At those various scenes of triumph, or mortification, the Duke, and his son, the Earl of Arran, came not nigh the Queen: They even fortified Dunbarton castle, which they had possessed, since the Duke was governor. The Queen observed both those inattentions to her. Randolph, after

[e] Keith, 189, from Randolph's dispatch. [f] Id.

observing to Cecil, that he had given the Duke, and his son, good advice, remarked, " that if they should come to harm, it " will justify the proverb, that injury, when it comes, is usually " from oneself."

About this time, the galleys returned to France, with which went the Duke d'Aumale: The other princes remained some weeks with the Queen; and returned, through England, when they were well received, by Elizabeth. The Scotish Queen began to think of making a progress through some of the principal towns of her kingdom. As the Queen's horses, and mules, had been detained, in England, she was obliged to purchase ten horses, at Stirling, for the use of her household, preparatory to her progress[g]. She was accompanied, in her progress, by her uncles, the Marquis d'Elbeuf, and the grand prior, with Mons. d'Amville: and there were a number of ladies, in her train[h].

The Queen set out on her progress, a horseback, as she had no wheeled carriage, on the 11th of September 1561[i]. After dinner, she rode from Holyrood-house to Linlithgow palace; where she remained on the 12th, and, on the 13th she rode to Stirling castle. At this place, she run the risque, of being

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[g] On the 6th of September 1561, the Treasurer charged £211. given to John Livingston, her master stabler, to buy ten horses, for her grace's household; and £1. 13*s*. 4*d*. for incidental expenses. Ten haikneys were brought to Holyrood-house, perhaps, as presents, as the persons, who brought them, were paid *drink silver*, or *bridle silver*, of two crowns of the sun, for each, or £26. 13*s*. 4*d*. [Treasurer's accounts.] The Queen, and her ladies, probably rode on haikneys; as there is a charge of 18*s*. in the same accounts, for an mollat bit, to the *Queen's haikney*.

[h] In the Treasurer's accounts, there are charges, on the 2d and 3d of September, before the Queen's progress, for saddles, and bridles, &c. to *twelve of the Queen's, ladies;* and for *black riding cloaks*, to *fifteen of the Queen's ladies.*

[i] James Drummond, and three other *trumpeters*, received each 6*s*. 8*d*. a day. for attending the Queen, on her progress, from the 11th to the 29th of Sept. 1561. Treasurer's books.

burnt[k]. On Sunday, the 14th of September, in her chapel royal, "her grace's devout chaplains," said Randolph to Cecil, "would by the good device of Arthur Erskine, have "sung a high mass: The Earl of Argyle, and the Lord "James, so disturbed the quire, that some both priests, and "clerks, left their places, with broken heads, and bloody ears: "It was a sport alone, continues Randolph, for some that "were there to behold it; others there were [the Queen pro-"bably] that shed a tear, or two, and made no more of the "matter[l]." It is a singular fact, which the historians of the Scotish reformation seem not to have noticed, that the first, who began reformation, by violence, was *the Governor, Arran,* who employed his soldiers, to deface the religious houses, and to expel the monks[m]. But, it was reserved, for *the prime minister,* and *the justice general,* to make a riot, in the house, which had been dedicated to the service of God, and to obstruct the service, in the Queen's presence, as we learn, from Randolph's intimations. It does not require any additional proof, to show how little religion, how little morals, how little honour, any men could have, who acted thus, in the house of God.

From Stirling, after all those accidents, the Queen journeyed to Leslie castle, the Earl of Rothes's seat, in Fifeshire, on the 15th, where she passed the night, and then proceeded, on the 16th, to Perth. Randolph said to Cecil, it was reported, whether with truth, or malice, that the Earl lost both plate, and something else, that was easy to be conveyed; yet, he

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[k] Randolph wrote to Cecil, on the 24th of September: "At Stirling, the Queen "lying in her bed, having a candle burning by her, being asleep, the curtains and "tester took fire; and so was like to have smothered her, as she lay." Randolph adds, sarcastically, "such as speak much of prophecies say, that this is now ful-"filled, that of old hath been spoken, *that a Queen should be burnt at Stirling.*" Keith, 190.

[l] Id.

[m] Hamilton archives.

does not say, whatever he may insinuate, whether it were the servants, reformed, or unreformed, who pilfered his lordship's plate[n]. On the 17th, as she rode through Perth, she was taken ill, and was carried from her horse, to her lodging:[o] with such sudden affections, she seems to have been afflicted, after any great unkindness, or grief. She was presented, by this town, where she was well received, with a heart of gold, full of gold: But, she liked not the pageants, said Randolph to Cecil; as *they did too plainly condemn the errors of the world.* What he did not tell, cannot now be told: But, it is, sufficiently plain, that there was something in the pageants, which gave the Queen a fit of illness. This, then, is the second example, which shows, that the good men of Edinburgh, and of Perth, when they wished to do honour to the Queen, studiously offered her an affront.

From Perth, the Queen journeyed to Dundee, on the 18th of September; and here did she remain on the 19th[p]. From Dundee, she crossed the Tay to St. Andrews, where she remained, on Sunday the 21st, where there seems to have been some insult offered to her religion[q]. She remained at St. Andrews, however, several days; being the seat of the Commendator, Lord James. She afterwards visited Faulkland, where her father died; and then returned to Edinburgh, on the 29th of September. Knox, after enumerating the towns, which she visited, immediately, adds, and which towns she polluted with her idolatry: Fire followed her very commonly, in that

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[n] Keith, 190.

[o] She was certainly, at Perth, on the 7th of September 1561; as we know, from the Privy Seal Reg. xxx. 49.

[p] There are several of her grants dated at Dundee, on the 19th of September. Ib. 49—53—58.

[q] Randolph informed Cecil, that he had heard, that a priest was slain; but, did not altogether believe it. Keith, 190.

journey; the towns gave her presents very liberally, and thereof were the French enriched. What prejudice! Every event is supernatural with Knox. Multitudes followed the Queen, through those towns; which, as they were covered, with thatch, were very easily fired. Had one of the French nobles received all the gifts, which were given, as presents, to the Queen, he would not have enriched France, by his opulence.

The Queen had scarcely returned to Holyrood-house, when she was encountered, by a proclamation of the magistrates of Edinburgh, which, from its tenor, one would suppose, must have been designed, as an insult[r]. It may have proceeded, from fanaticism, founded on ignorance. The Queen, immediately, directed a precept to the town council, to convene, and dismiss the provost, and baillies; who had issued such a proclamation, without her knowledge. The town council yielded to the Queen's authority: But, there was none of the magistrates imprisoned; nor was there any resistance to the Queen's power[s]. It was a busy period of religious disputation, and of formal reforms, throughout the European nations: and Elizabeth sent the Scotish Queen, books, and formulas, from French Huguenots, we may suppose, to teize, rather than reform her. It was then the Queen's ordinary practice, to sit, in the council chamber, *sewing some work*, when her ministers were assembled; to know what was said, and to hear what was concluded[t].

[r] It was dated, on the 2d of October 1561; "charging all monks, friers, priests, "nuns, adulterers, fornicators, and all such filthy persons, to remove from the "town, in twenty-four hours, under the pain of carting, burning on the cheek, and "banishment for ever." Keith, 192, [s] Ib. 193.

[t] Randolph's letter to Cecil, 24th October, 1561, in Keith. 194. "I receive," he adds, "very good words from her. I am born in hand, by those, who are nearest "about her; as the Lord James, and Secretary Maitland: I see them above all "others in credit, and find in them no alteration; though there be those, who com-"plain, that they yield too much to her appetite, which yet I see not: the Lord "James dealeth, according to his nature, rudely, homely, and bluntly; Secretary

To preserve, or to restore, the peace of the southern borders, was, at all times, found a matter of great difficulty, owing to the wild habits of the people of a mountainous country. The late distractions had not improved their usual manners. And to soothe Elizabeth, it was resolved, early in October 1561, to hold courts of ayr, in those countries, under the supreme directions of the Lord James, who was appointed the Queen's Lieutenant, for that effect. Those courts were held, in November following: and such was the vigour, not to say the violence, of his proceedings, that the severity of his executions would rival the harshest proceedings of the most violent administration: "I doubt not," said Randolph to Cecil, "but your "honour hath been advertised of the Lord James's doings at "Jedburgh; he burned many houses; he hanged 22 or 23; "and brought into this town, [Edinburgh] 40 or 50, of which "there are 23 in the castle. The chiefest of all the clans, in "the borders, are come in, to take what order the Queen may "appoint, to stay theft, in time to come[u]." It was easy to send the Lord James as lieutenant to the borders; it was still more easy, to recall letters of marque, which had induced piracies, and created complaints: but, it was impossible to preserve any amicable relation with foreign states, while the

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"Maitland, more delicately, and finely, yet nothing swerveth, from the other, in "mind, and effect: she is patient to hear, and beareth much. Mr. Knox," he continues, "cannot be otherwise persuaded, but many men are deceived in *this* "*woman;* his severity keepeth us in marvellous order. I commend better the "success of his doings, and preachings, than the manner thereof, though I acknow-"ledge his doctrines to be sound: his prayer is, daily for her, "*that God will turn* "*her obstinate heart against God and his truth; or if the holy will be otherwise,* "*to strengthen the hearts and hands of his chosen, and elect, stoutly to withstand* "*the rage of all tyrants,*—in words terrible enough." [Keith, 196-7.] Whether all this be agreeable to the scripture may be well doubted; we know for certain, that when Peter drew his sword, our lord commanded him to put it up.

[u] Keith, 205. See the Appendix No. IV. to Murray's Memoirs, for an account of his proceedings, which show, that he acted with pleasure, and alacrity.

secretary of state betrayed the Queen; or, to preserve domestic quiet, while the preachers invited the people to revolt.

To prevent some of those inconveniences, a convention, instead of a parliament, was called, on the 15th of December 1561. Yet, it acted with the same confidence, as if it had been a constitutional legislature. The convention, endeavoured, by an act, to quiet persons, and possessions of kirk lands, as had been leased to the parties, since the 6th of March 1558. The great object of this convention, though it was not strictly legal, was to obtain a revenue both for the Queen, and the reformed preachers. The bishops protested against their proceedings, as informal, and illegal[v]. The ecclesiastical rentals of the whole kingdom were ordered to be given in to the privy council. We may thus perceive, that the reform of religion, had not taught its votaries any great respect for the established law. Neither had it produced any melioration of the hearts, either of the highest, or lowest orders, which might mitigate the outrageous manners of a ferocious people. It was now called in question, said Randolph to Cecil, whether the *Queen being an Idolater,* may be obeyed in all civil actions: I think, continued he, marvellously, of the wisdom of God, that gave this unruly, and inconstant people, no more power, than they have; as they would then run wild.[w]

The Duke continued to act, foolishly, by absenting himself from court, and pretending to retain Dunbarton castle, from the Queen: and Arran conducted himself, still worse, by making pretensions, that could not be heard, and acting, so wildly, as to require confinement: yet, did the Queen treat both, with forbearance, and kindness. About this time, there arose an alarm, as if an attack was, immediately, to be made on Holyrood-house: it was simultaneously given out, that Arran had crossed the Forth, from Fife, having some force, with design

[v] Keith, 175-6-181. [w] Ib. 202.

to carry off the Queen: but, neither that rumour, nor this report, could be traced to any certain cause, or rational probability[x]. They, however, evince a credulity of ignorance, and a restlessness of spirits, among the people, which made them the victims of any story, and he instruments of any purpose. The Queen fearing some additional mischief, issued a proclamation; forbidding any one, from injuring her chaplains, and requiring all men, to answer the ministers stipend, in time to come, as before: but, this proclamation, being made, without the consent of her privy council, gave offence to those, who did not reflect, how unsettled the constitution of the church then was, and how little the law was then regarded.

It was this mode of thinking, perhaps, that induced the church to petition the privy council, that the Queen might be induced to put away her mass from herself, and the people; to establish the book of reformation; that the stipends of the ministers might be established; that manifest Papists might be removed, from the superior court. These requests were deemed most reasonable, without considering, that they were of great importance, and delicacy, and could only be settled, by the highest power, after the deepest consideration. It was decided, however, whatever might be the repugnance of those, who were most intrusted, that the bishops, abbots, and priors, were required to relinquish yearly seven parts of their livings; whereof four parts were to be appropriated to the maintenance of the preachers, to the founding of schools, and to the support of the poor; and the other three parts were appropriated to the revenue of the crown. The great objection, to those measures, interesting as they were, was shortly this, that the authority, which directed them, had no valid power, to command such weighty measures. Another matter, though of much

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[x] Keith, 204: those alarms were probably raised, by the Queen's principal servants; in order to frighten her, into some purpose.

inferior importance, created greater disturbances: Arran and d'Elbeuf, quarrelling about women, and wine, the Duke and Bothwell taking part, created a tumult in Edinburgh streets: but proclamation being made, that all men should depart in peace, on pain of death, within half an hour; not a man was to be seen, said Randolph to Cecil; and of so likely a matter of mischief, I never saw so little hurt[y].

Amidst such disturbances of idle men; while the rival Queens bandied their civilities; the question of the ratification of the treaty of Edinburgh was again revived. Elizabeth sent Sir Peter Mewtas to Edinburgh, for the invidious purpose of demanding this long sought-for ratification. The Scotish Queen gave the envoy such an answer, as she thought might well stand with her good cousin's contentment, and the quiet of both. But, Elizabeth was not contented. She wrote the Scotish Queen a more urgent letter, in November 1561; requiring nothing, said Elizabeth, but what ought to be granted, in honour, justice, and reason. Mary wrote, on the 5th of January 1561-2, an answer to this claim, which, from its staleness, began to degenerate into impertinence. The Scotish Queen now went more into the argument, than she had yet done; without touching the circumstances of the time, when that treaty was passed; by whose commandment; by what ministers; how they were authorized; or particularly, to examine the sufficiency of this commission; which topicks are not so slender, but the least of them is worthy of some consideration. We will only, at present, said she, touch on that head, which is mete for us to provide, and is not inconvenient to you: how prejudicial that treaty is to such *title*, and interest, as by birth, and natural descent of your own lineage, may fall to us, by very inspection of the treaty itself, ye may, and how slenderly a matter of such great consequence is wrapped

[y] Keith, 210-11.

up, in obscure terms[z]. Mary might have wound up her argument, once for all, in this manner: every sovereign has a right to refuse his ratification of a treaty, which had been unauthorized, or misconducted, by his envoys: my servants, on that occasion, had no authority, as they avowed, to negociate away my title to a most important object: I, therefore, refuse my ratification of an unauthorized treaty. Yet, plain, as this point is, Cecil found artifices, for many a weary year, to vex the two Queens, from recollections of this subject; and even sometimes to criminate the Scotish Queen, whose arguments, with all his abilities, he could not answer; as they were unanswerable. But, the Scotish Queen was too well bred, to give her good cousin a short, or prompt answer, which might have furnished offence to Elizabeth; when she perceived that, Mary was too powerful for her, in such an argument, though she had affected to consider her cousin, as young: Yes, said Mary, on that occasion, you might call me a fool, as well as young, if I were to assent to a treaty, which gave away my birthright, without my knowledge. The Queen was now nineteen years of age, when she was thus called upon, to answer the suggestions of Cecil, and the requests of Elizabeth.

The year 1562 opened with consultations, on the maintainance of the new ministers of the reformed church[a]. But, without the authority of Parliament, they consulted, with less efficacy, than the enquiry required. It is a strong proof of an unmannered age, that the nobles could not settle their private quarrels, without public authority. The disputes between Arran, and Bothwell, and the Lord James, who is said; without probability, to have been in some danger, from private machinations, is a proof of this. That he was envied, for his pre-eminence, and hated, for his bluntness, may be true; but, of a plot against

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[z] Keith, 212-13; Haynes, 376-8; Cecil's Diary—Murdin, 756.

[a] Keith, 215.

his life, there is no evidence. On the 7th of February 1561-2, the Lord James, who could command every thing, or any person, was created Earl of Mar. Soon after, the restless Arran was brought before the privy council, in the Queen's presence, concerning his differences with Bothwell, another uneasy personage: Arran was induced, to engage, that he would keep the peace, with Bothwell, as required by the treaty of Edinburgh[b]. While the nobles are irascible, and untaught, how difficult is it to govern a people! From such brawls, the Queen endeavoured to escape, by enjoying the sports of the field, at Faulkland, and the retirement of St. Andrews, in which she seems to have delighted. The Duke was not, meantime, quite free from suspicion, owing to the weakness of his conduct.

At the end of March 1562, Arran, with frantic inconsistency, charged Bothwell, with conspiring, with himself, and Gawin Hamilton, the commendator of Killyenning, to carry off the Queen to Dunbartoh castle, and to slay her principal ministers. The charges were too serious to be quite disregarded. Bothwell, and Hamilton, were imprisoned. And Arran, being examined before the privy council, at St. Andrews, was soon discovered to be insane[c]. He seems to have been sent to Edinburgh castle, to prevent further mischief from him. Such was the sad fate of the earliest lover of Mary, and of the proffered husband of Elizabeth! On the 19th of April, the privy council required the Duke, his father, to surrender Dunbarton castle to the Queen's officer; a measure of precaution this, to which there could be no valid objection.

Amidst those disquieting scenes, Mary returned to Edin-

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[b] Keith, 215.

[c] It appears, from Randolph's letter to Cecil, of the 9th of April 1562, in the Paper Office, that Arran did not abide, by his accusation, but rather denied the whole, to the great misliking of all men, who saw his misconduct.

burgh, early in May. Owing to some intimations of Randolph, before her journey to Fife, she had allowed her mind to dwell upon a personal interview, with Elizabeth, in England. Whether Cecil, or Maitland, suggested this idle purpose, cannot now be told: Mary, certainly, laid the matter before her privy council, on the 19th of May: And her counsellors left the decision of the matter to herself, "if she should think her own "person to be any way in surety, upon any promise to be "made, by the English Queen." Mary was so little apprehensive of her personal safety, that she sent Secretary Maitland, to London, to agree upon the detail of such an interview. The Queen wrote to Leicester upon the subject: And her chief minister, the Earl of Mar, addressed a letter to Cecil, upon the same business. For carrying it into effect; a provisional treaty was, actually, agreed upon, so sincere, seemed Elizabeth, for the moment: But, she soon began to vacillate, between the two opinions, whether to meet, or not to meet, the Scotish Queen, at Nottingham. At length, in July, she sent that truly respectable statesman, Sir Henry Sidney, to Edinburgh; in order to explain to the Scotish Queen, how inconvenient it would be, to meet her, personally, while the troubles continued, in France[d]. Mary seems to have been disappointed: And, with her usual amenity, wrote her good sister, whose ruling passion was dissimulation, her grief, in not seeing the person, in this world, whom she would be gladdest to see[e].

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[d] Keith, 116-21; Haynes, 316-91.

[e] Keith, 221. The privy council, on the 15th of August, again concluded their advice to the Queen, on the postponed journey, as follows: "But, nevertheless "declared, that they would nowise give her counsel, *to commit her body in Eng-* "*land;* and, therefore, referred the place of meeting, and *the security of her* "*own person,* to herself." Ib. 222. "The Queen is greatly offended with the "Duke," said Randolph to Cecil, "who hath both secretly, and openly, in coun- "cil said, that he thinketh not good, that the Queen should go into England; "and that when he consented to the same, he durst do no other; because his son "was prisoner, and he himself knew not what mind was born unto him. This

While the Queen was enjoying the conversation of the accomplished Sidney, in the garden of Holyrood-house, attended by her court, an occurrence happened, which illustrates the brutish manners of a coarse military: Captain Heiborne approached the Queen, and delivered her a packet, which she, being engaged with Sir Henry Sidney, delivered unopened to the Earl of Mar, to be considered: And he, at first taking no great care of it, at length opened it, when he found some *ribalde verses*, with an obscene drawing: On the morrow, the Queen, hearing of this; and feeling the insult, which was thus offered, in the presence of the English ambassador, who might judge of herself otherwise, than any occasion was given, by her, or hers; fell sick, and is greatly grieved at the heart, that Heiborne is fled out of her country, not doubting but that he will be apprehended, where he is, if it be possible: This man, she desireth to be sent unto her, and to that effect, I have written to the lord governor of Berwick, said Randolph to Cecil[f]. But, what ought we to think of Mar's address, and manners, who, instead of offending the Queen's delicacy, ought to have committed Heiborne's ribaldry to the fire.

As we now approach the epoch of Mary's journey into the North, which ended in Huntley's ruin, it may be here proper, to pause awhile, that we enter more fully into enquiries, with regard to the Queen's person, and dress, her more private affairs, and domestic establishments.

" agreeth so little with that purpose, which he had with me, not two days before, " that I know not what I shall make of him: I see, that he seeketh so many ways " to his own destruction, that I care not what becometh of him." [Letter in the Paper Office, 10th August 1562.] We have little more of the meeting of the two Queens, which must have ended, in disappointment, and chagrin.

[f] This odious incident was communicated, by Randolph, to Cecil, by his letter of the 10th of August 1562; in the Paper Office. Randolph adds: " the Queen, " yesterday, being Sunday, at her mass, fell very sick; she recovered within half " an hour; and is now very well."

As the Scotish Queen was born, in December 1542, and Elizabeth, in September 1533; Mary was thus much younger than the English Queen. As Mary's mother was one of the largest of women; so was she "of higher stature" than Elizabeth, as we learn from Melvill, while Elizabeth considered her own, as the only true standard of perfection. Elizabeth's hair was *more red, than yellow*, says Melvill, while Mary's was light auburn; with chestnut coloured eyes. Mary had Grecian features, with a nose somewhat out of proportion long, as her father's was: The Queen of Scots seems to have been the handsomest of the two, according to the general opinion. Elizabeth asked Melvill, whether she, or his Queen, danced best? He said, my Queen danced not so high, and disposedly as Elizabeth did; and he might have added, that his Queen danced most gracefully, though this would have been amiss. Elizabeth had clothes of every country, which, on each successive day she changed; preferring, however, the Italian dress: Mary had a great variety of dresses, as we learn, from her wardrobe accounts,[g] though they were not more numerous than Elizabeth's. Mary had ten pair of wolven [woven] hois [hose] of gold, silver, and silk, three pair of woven hois of worsted of Guernsey[h]. She had thirty-six pair of velvet shoes pasmental [laced] with gold and silver. She had six pair of gloves of worsted of Guernsey. The two Queens seem to have delighted in dress; and it is not easy to decide, which of them was the best provided.

They were both learned women, according to the fashion of

[g] They consisted of "gownes, vaskenis, skirtis, sleves, doublettis, vaillis, vardingallis, cloikis."

[h] Elizabeth is said to have received, as a present, from France, a pair of *black silk stockings*, which she had the honour to wear the first, in England. As *hose* seems to be an older word, than *stockens*, it is not quite certain, whether Mary's *hois* may not have been silk stockens, woven with gold, and silver, and of earlier importation, and use.

the times: Elizabeth read Greek, with Ascham: Mary read Latin, with Buchanan. The minds of both were highly cultivated: But Elizabeth possessed, in a very superior degree, the masculine faculty of decision, and action: Mary, though superior, as a woman, was defective, in this quality of a sovereign; a defect this, which she had learned, at the court of France, where she saw the sovereign, constantly, yielding an easy assent to a predominant minister: And only on two occasions, in which she was, personally, interested, did she act powerfully; the first, when she resolved not to ratify the treaty of Edinburgh; the second, when she determined to marry Darnley: She would have been a blessing, as a queen, to any civilized country, with ministers of any talents, any honesty, any honour. From her arrival among her people, to the passing moment, she had borne her faculties so meekly; her conduct, was so gracious; and her manner was so full of amenity, and goodness, that she was the subject of every one's eulogy, from Melvill[i] to Randolph;[k] all except the reformed ministers, whose charity led them to regard their sovereign, as an idolater, who, as such, ought to be maligned, and opposed[l]. We have seen, how familiarly, she took her place, in her privy council, with her work bag, in her hand, and some pleasant observation, on her tongue.

The Queen's charity was a very notable object. After her return from France, she appointed two *elemosinars*, to distribute her alms to the poor; Archibald Crawford, and Peter Rorie, who were both ecclesiastics. They obtained money, by her orders, from the Treasurer, and from other sources, which they distri-

[i] Mem. 53.

[k] See his letters to Cecil, during the years 1561-62-63-64, down to 1565, when Elizabeth declared against her marriage, and when Randolph changed his tone.

[l] One might suppose, from the conduct of those ministers, that they had never read the New Testament, at least, had never contemplated the forbearance, and benignity of our Saviour.

buted to necessitous persons. The sums, which were thus allotted, for such benevolent purposes, appear to have been more, or less, as the demand required[m]. The education of poor children appear, also, to have been objects of her attention[n]. After the Queen's dethronement, in 1567, the office of *elemosinar*, and the issues of charity, were discontinued, during the four successive regencies: King James restored both the office, and the charities. The office of advocate for the poor, which was established, by James V., who was called, "a good poor man's "king," was continued, throughout Mary's reign; but, was discontinued, by the Regent Murray, and the three successive Regents. The *advocate for the poor* had a salary of £20. for supporting the causes of the indigent before the Court of Session, which was one half of the salary of the Queen's advocate[o].

Next to her charities, may be considered her *studies*. There was with the Queen, said Randolph to Cecil, one called Mr. George Bowhanan, a Scotish man, *very well learned*, that was schoolmister unto Mons. de Brisack's son; very godly, and honest[p]. She readeth, daily, after her dinner, instructed, by a learned man, Mr. George Bowhanan, somewhat of Lyvie[q].

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[m] In November 1562, Peter Rorie obtained, from the Treasurer, £36. 7*s*. 6*d*. for his charitable distribution, in that month. In the following December, Archibald Crawfurd obtained, from the Treasurer, £16. for the same purpose. There were, moreover, other sums distributed to the poor, occasionally, and clothes supplied, by the Treasurer, to necessitous persons.

[n] In March 1564-5, the Treasurer paid, by the Queen's order, to Mr. William Guling, the master of the grammar school of Stirling, £17. 2*s*. for the furnishing of *bairns* [children.]

[o] Randolph informed Cecil, in March 1563-4, that, for expedition of poor men's causes, the Queen hath ordered three days a week, for their attendance, augmenting the judges stipends; *and sitting herself*, for more equity, often times. Keith, 250.

[p] Letter in the Paper Office, 30th January 1561-2.

[q] Ib. 7th April 1562. I suppose, from a charge in the Treasurer's books, of

we might, indeed, know, from Melville, that when her more serious affairs permitted, she was taken up with reading of histories[r]. Buchanan gratified the Queen, by the blandishments of his poetry; and she, exclusive of quarterly payments, from her treasury, gave him, for life, the whole revenue of the abbey of Crossraguel, in Ayrshire, amounting to £500. a year. But, being thus made independent, this *very godly and honest man*, became one of the most inveterate lampooners of the Queen's doings, that ever disgraced any country, for his falsehood, and ingratitude[s]. On such a return, for many kindnesses, Mary might have cried out, in Shakspeare's language: "Sharper, than the serpent's tooth, are "benefits forgot." The Scotish Queen had a *library*, from which her studies might have been traced, if we had not had contemporary information: she had *globes*, and charts, and books, which, however, seem to have been ill described, by the keeper of her wardrobe, and to have been much dilapidated[t].

The Queen's *women*, formed a great object of her solicitude, though she had nothing like the female establishments of modern courts[u]. The *Maries*, who were associated with her, in

money paid to Buchanan, for his services, from Martinmas to Whitsunday 1561, that he had been, in the Queen's employment, before her departure, from France.

[r] Mem. 50.

[s] See his *Detection of Mary's Doings*, throughout. He had a pension of £100. a year, from Elizabeth.

[t] Item. Two gloibbis, the ane of the heavin, and the uther of the earth. Item: six cartes of sindrie countries. Item: twa painted broddis [boards]; the ane of the *Muses*; and the other of grotesque, or conceipts. Item: eight painted broddis of the doctors of Almenie. Of *portraits*; she appears to have had a picture of her mother, a picture of her father, a picture of her husband Francis II.; and a picture of the constable of France. It should seem, from the silence of the Treasurer's accounts, that she had no painter in Scotland. For her library; see a list of her books, in her printed Wardrobe accounts.

[u] On the 12th of November 1561, by the Queen's precept, the Treasurer paid £144. 15*s*., for 63 elnes of black staining to be clokes for fourteen dames, damoisellis, and maidinnis, and £112. 16*s*. 3*d*., for 53 elnes ¾ of black *velvet* to the same

her infancy, continued still about her; Mary Fleming, Mary Betown, Mary Livingston, Mary Seton; besides other dames, *damoisellis*, and maidinnis:[v] But, Mademoiselle de Pinguillion was her chief lady, who in Randolph's letters to Cecil, obtained the name of *Pigillion*. Before the Queen set out on her short tour, in September 1561, there were several payments, by the Treasurer, for saddles, and bridles, to twelve of the Queen's ladies, and for black riding cloaks to fifteen of the same ladies. During some time, after the Queen's return, the clothes and equipments, for herself, her ladies, and attendants, were black; and some of the servants wore *black grey*. Randolph intimated to Cecil, speaking of the intended interview, between the two Queens, that to avoid expenses, it was determined, that all men should wear nothing but black cloth; *as the Queen had not cast off her mourning garments.* She continued her mourning dress till her marriage with Darnley, in July 1565. The Queen's common wearing gowns appear to have been made, some of chamlate, some of damis, and some of serge of Florence, bordered with black velvet. Her riding cloaks and skirts, were of black serge of Florence, stiffened in the neck, and other parts, with buckram, and mounted with pasementis [lace,] and ribbons.

Of the Scotish Queen's domestic *establishment*, there remains a complete detail, in her household-book, from the Register-house, which may be seen, in the Appendix; and

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ladies, to be their *second dule* [mourning] at £4. 15*s.* an elne. On the same day, the Queen directed the Treasurer to pay £55. 7*s.* to Jacques de Soulis, the Queen's *taillieur*, to be delivered over to her maidens, to buy their second dule; to the first five £9., and to Nicholas Wardlaw £10. 7*s.* In February 1561-2, the Treasurer paid for beds, and bedding, for the two maidens, Nicholas Wardlaw, and Janet Seton, in the Queen's chamber. There were, also, considerable payments, as appears, in the Treasurer's books, for the Queen's beds, and for the beds of the two maidens, Wardlaw, and Seton, who slept in her chamber.

[v] See, however, for her laidies and maidinnis, in her household-book, in the Appendix.

which, to make it intelligible, required some research, and some skill. Her cloth of gold; her tapestry; her Turkey carpets; her beds; and coverlids; her *burd-claithes*, her table cloathes of *dornick*; her vessels of glass; her chairs, and stools, covered with velvet, and garnished with fringes; her *doublettis*, *vaskenis*,[w] and *skirts*; all in detail in her wardrobe accounts, though very gorgeous, may be allowed, however, to have something of the tawdry appearance of a pawnbroker's warehouse. We see nothing of *plate*: but, we are told, I think, that the miscreants, who dethroned her, coined her silver work, to pay the expenses of their insurrection. Her jewels were dissipated, by various appropriations, though some of them, were recovered, by legal proceedings, for her infant son, by the Regent Morton, in 1578.[x]

As to the Queen's *amusements*, we may see, in the wardrobe-book, that she was a *chess player*; but one of her great domestic amusements was *shooting at the butts*.[y] Hawking

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[w] *Vasquine*, as we learn, from Cotgrave, is a *kirtle*, or pettycoat; also a Spanish *vardingale*.

[x] Wardrobe-book (printed) p. 182, &c. Randolph said to Cecil, on the 10th of August 1562: "Pigilion is the master of the Queen's household, chiefly in credit, "and above any other that serveth her;" his wife is as well favoured, by the Queen, as any woman that ever served her. Young Pigilion is one of her *carvers*. Randolph runs out against the other French servants of the Queen. The original letter is in the Paper Office. *Rizzio* had not yet come into notice.

[y] The next day, [22d April 1562,] said Randolph to Cecil, after the council was risen, the Queen's grace, as she doth oft, did, in her privy garden, *shoot at the butts*; where the Duke, with other noblemen, were present, and I also admitted, for one to behold the passtime. [After some conference with the Duke, he adds.] With like purposes, we ended our talk, for that time, and gave ourselves again, to behold the passtimes, which would have well contented your honour, to have seen the Queen and the master of Lindsay, to shoot against the Earl of Mar, and one of the ladies. [Letter from St. Andrews, in the Paper Office, 25th April 1562.] The master of Lindsay, who was thus brought before us, by the death of his father, in 1563, became Lord Lindsay; and was the brutish miscreant, who, by personal coercion, compelled the Queen, in July 1567, to resign her crown. This is he, of

was a common, and healthful pastime, in that, and the preceding age: her father, and grandfather, were both, passionately, attached to this amusing, as well as salutary practice: and a falconer, with his attendants, formed a part of their establishments. James Lindsay, who was master falconer, at the demise of James V, received a year's salary of £66. 13*s.* 4*d.*;[z] and he had seven falconers under him. James Lindsay continued master falconer, during Mary's minority; but his assistants were reduced to four. He appears to have been succeeded in 1562, by Matthew Kerr, who, as master falconer, received the same salary. Hawks were brought from Orkney, and Shetland, in 1562:[a] in August 1562, the Queen sent a present of hawks to Elizabeth[b]. The Scotish Queen, and her ladies, and lords, took the diversion of hawking, often, in Lothian, and, sometimes, in Fife. In 1565, two additional falconers were added to the establishment, on account of Darnley, who was passionately fond of hawking[c].

The Queen had *gardens*, at all her houses, though not, perhaps, of great extent, or much ornamented, by bringing art, in aid of nature: and, in her gardens, she delighted, as was the practice of Elizabeth, to receive, and converse, with ambassadors, and other public men, on business. She was in the habit of walking in gardens, and of taking long walks, with her ladies, and lords, and, also, with the foreign ambassadors, who did much of their business, in those walks; as we learn from Randolph's letters to Cecil. At the palace of Holyrood-

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whom, an elegant poet has said: "and Lindsay, with his iron eye, could see fair Mary weep, in vain."

[z] Treasurer's books: we may observe, in estimating the importance of several officers, that the Queen's *advocate* in the court of session, had only £40. a year.

[a] The Treasurer paid two men £20., for that service.

[b] The Treasurer paid James Gray £80., for carrying those hawks to London.

[c] Melvil's Mem. 50, speaks of the Queen as lately come from the highland hunting.

house, she had two gardens, the one southern,[d] the other northern; the one of these was probably the old garden of the abbey; the other was formed, by James IV, who built the palace of Holyrood-house. The park of Holyrood-house was enlarged by James V, her father. At Linlithgow, she had a garden and a park. At Stirling castle, she had a garden and a park. She had also, a garden, and a park, at Falkland: Lindsey, the poet, who flourished, under James V, describes the hunting of the deer, in this park, with the other pastimes of Falkland, of which he seems to have had his full share. At St. Andrews, she seems to have had a house, and a garden: the new palace in the abbey of St. Andrews, to which James V. carried Mary's mother, when she landed, in Fife, was now occupied, no doubt, by the Lord James, as commendator, Earl of Mar, and Murray. At Perth, she had, also, a house, and garden.[e] She made use of those gardens, as we have seen, for the more private pastime of shooting at the butts.

The Queen's *musicians*, as objects of amusement, and still more, as essentials, in her religious worship, engaged much of her attention. We have seen, in her earliest age, that she had *minstrels* attached to her establishment. In 1561, and in 1562, she had five violars, or players on the viol, who seem to have been all Scotsmen: John Feldie, Moreis *Dow*, William Hoy, John *Dow*, a name consecrated to music, and John Ray.[f]

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[d] There were annual payments, by the Treasurer, to the gardener of the *South-yard*, at Holyrood-house, to buy seeds, for it.

[e] In September 1565, she granted a precept to her customer, at Perth, to pay Robert Rhynd, gardener of her yard, at Perth, 10 marks, yearly, during his life, for keeping the said garden. [Regr. of Signatures, Bk. ii.]

[f] The Treasurer's books: the children of Feldie appear to have, occasionally, performed: and, on the 8th of January 1561-2, the Treasurer paid to John Feldie, and his bairns, *violaris*, for their service, at this last *Yule*, £20. In 1564-5-6-7, the Queen was served, by the same five *violars*, except William Hoy, who seems to have been succeeded, by Alexander, the son of John Feldie. They had each a

The Queen had three players on the *lute*, at the same time[g]. The Queen played on the lute, and virginals, as we learn, from Melvill. In 1564, when Melvill, was sent, from Mary, to Elizabeth, she asked him, if his mistress played well, to which he answered, *reasonably*, as a queen[h]. Mary had also a *schalmer*, which was a sort of pipe, or fluted instrument, but not a bagpipe: and *pipers*, and *schalmers*, were sometimes used synonymously, in the Treasurer's books, during the reign of James IV.[i] The Queen had, also, a small establishment of *singers*. Melvill informs us, that the Queen had three valets of her chamber, who sung three parts, and wanted a bass, to sing the fourth part: And Rizzio being recommended to the Queen, as a person fit to make the fourth, in concert, was drawn in, sometimes, to sing with the other valets[k]. Before the reformation, *organs* were the common instruments of music, in churches. In 1559, and 1560, the organs were, generally, destroyed, as profane. Those in the chapel royal, within Stirling castle, were saved; as the mob could not reach them, with their polluted hands. A pair of organs, which had been recently

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salary of £10. a year, exclusive of other payments, occasionally, and were furnished with clothes.

[g] The Treasurer's books: John Adesone was a player on the lute, and a chalmer cheild, a valet of the chamber, who, in November 1562, received £24. Some of the valets, in the chamber, played on the lute, and also sang. John Hume was a player on the lute; and James Heron was a player on the pipe, and whistle. In December 1566, John Hume, the lutist, was handsomely equipped, with fine clothes of velvet, and hat, and velvet bonnet, and rapier and belt. On occasion of the baptism of the infant James, the Treasurer appears to have paid Hume £177. 10*s*. 8*d*.

[h] Mem. 8vo. ed. 104-5.

[i] James Ramsay, schalmer, had a salary of £59. 4*s*. Scots, in 1563-4. Reg. of Signatures, Bk. J.

[k] Mem. 112. Birrel says, that Rizzio was skilful in music, and poetry. Diary. In August 1565, the Treasurer paid for clothes, to five sangsters, and also for five Paris hats for them. These were probably furnished, for the Queen's marriage with Darnley. In July 1566, the Treasurer paid, for clothes, and bed furniture, for five pages, and one sangster.

purchased, for the chapel of Holyrood-house, were saved, by the master of works[l]. In December 1562, Randolph intimated to Cecil, that one of the Queen's priests had been assaulted, in a dark night: and, he added, that her musicians, both Scots, and French, refused *to play, and sing*, at her mass, and even-song, upon Christmas-day: thus, continued he, is her poor soul, so troubled, for the preservation of her *silly mass*, that she knoweth not, where to turn herself, for defence of it.[m] In April 1565, the Queen spent her Easter, at Stirling: and, besides the organs, she had a band of music, which gave offence to those, who were, as silly as Randolph, in being offended, at the Queen's mode of worship, which was agreeable to ancient practice, and the established law. In April 1565, said Randolph to Cecil,[n] your honour shall know for certain, that greater triumph, there was never, in any time of most popery, than was this Easter, at the resurrection, and at her high mass: organs were wont to be the common music: she wanted now, neither trumpet, drum, nor fife, bagpipe, nor tabor. The worlde speaketh of it: and, I am ashamed to write it of her, (as well he might,) whom I honour, as in duty I am bound. Thus much, from Randolph to Cecil, who seems to have been as childish, as Bedford, when he wrote distressing dispatches, about *hoods*, and *tippets*. The Queen acted, wisely, in tolerating her subjects, to worship the supreme Being, in their own way. But, the tolerated were those, who persecuted the Queen, because she worshipped God, with more ceremony, and more pomp, than their ignorance approved, or their uncharitableness could allow. We have lived to see some attempts

[l] In February 1557-8, the Treasurer paid to David Melvill of Leith, £36. for one pair of organs, for the chapel in Holyrood-house. In February 1561-2, the Treasurer, by the Queen's command, paid William Mac Dowel, the master of work, £10. in consideration of a pair of organs, which were recovered, and kept by him.

[m] The original letter, in the Paper Office.

[n] His letter is in the Paper Office.

made, to restore the organ to the church of Scotland, while musick of the highest order is admired, in the metropolis of that ancient kingdom.

Of David Rizzio, thus brought before us, as one of the Queen's valets, and singers; and whose hard fate will always give him a place, in Scotish history, it may be proper to add some additional anecdotes. He was, by birth, a Piedmontese, who seems to have had a good education. He came to Edinburgh, in December 1561, with Mons. Moret, the ambassador of Savoy[o]. Rizzio was, soon after, appointed a valet of the Queen's chamber[p]. In this situation, he continued, till he was appointed private secretary, for the French language, to the Queen, in the room of Roulet, whom she had brought, from France, and whom she esteemed, till he misbehaved[q]. In December 1564, Rizzio succeeded, as French secretary[r]. In the station of secretary, Rizzio made himself very useful; and acquired the Queen's favour, by his assiduous, and faithful service. He was very attentive, and serviceable to Darnley; and was very active, in promoting his marriage with the Queen; by which circumstances, he incurred the enmity of Murray, and his faction: he was even maligned by them, as a minion, and pensioner of the pope[s]. Knox gave out, though

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[o] Keith, 207.

[p] The Treasurer paid David Rizzio, virlat in the Queen's chamber, £8*s*., on the 8th of January 1561-2. The Treasurer again paid him, in April 1562, £15., as chalmer chield, or valet of the chamber.

[q] From the same accounts, it appears, that in 1564, he was paid, quarterly, £80. a year, as valet of the chamber. At the same time, James Lawder, as valet of the chamber, had £250. Scots, a year: and, Serva de Conde, a Frenchman, had a salary of £66. 13*s*. 4*d*., as valet of the chamber, payable half yearly.

[r] Keith, 268-70.: Such Rizzio appears in the Treasurer's accounts of August 1565; and, in the same month, several furnishings, for the King, and the pages, were made to Rizzio, the secretary.

[s] Goodall, ii, 205; Melvill, 55-6, who shews great enmity to him; and, on every occasion, throws out his calumnies against Rizzio. Randolph said to Cecil, that

without foundation, that the Queen had delivered the great seal to Davie [Rizzio]. Knox might as well have said, that she had delivered her sceptre to Rizzio. After the marriage of Darnley, Rizzio continued his most assiduous services to the King, who was yet the chief agent, in his assassination[t].

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the most active agents, for Darnley's interest and marriage, were the Earl of Athol, Lord Ruthven, Rizzio, and Mingo, the Queen's valet de chambre. Letter 3d May, 1565, in the Paper Office.

[t] Keith, 326, the note; Goodall, i, 270-1. Rizzio was assassinated, on the 9th of March 1565-6. Birrel.

SECTION IV.

Of the Queen's Tour into the North, and her Return.

THE negotiation, for a meeting between the British Queens was not altogether closed, when a journey to Moray, and Inverness, was proposed, by her ministers, for the quiet of the country, and accepted, by her; because it was proposed,[u] by them.

The person, who last died possessed of the earldom of Moray, was James Steuart, an illegitimate son of James IV., a nobleman, who was respected, through life, for his conduct, and lamented, generally, when he died, as a loss to his country. Upon his decease, without issue male, in December 1544, the earldom reverted to the crown. His widow enjoyed it, for some years, under various titles. Other pretensions were,

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[u] The first public notice, that we have of this journey, which is declared to be a *terrible one*, is in Randolph's letter to Cecil, of the 10th of August 1562. "From "Stirling," says he, "she taketh her journey, as far north, as Inverness, the farthest "part of Murray, *a terrible journey*, both for horse, and man, the countries are so "poor, and the victuals so scarce. It is her will, that I should attend upon her "thither. It is thought, that it will be a journey for her of two months, and more. "It is rather devised by herself," continues Randolph, "than greatly approved, by "her council." As this journey, by the Queen, was founded in imposture, so was Randolph imposed upon by Mar, the minister, and Maitland, the secretary, to believe, that the Queen desired to take so *terrible a journey* of her free will. This journey, the events will show, had two objects; (1) to put the Earl of Mar in possession of the earldom of Moray, for which he had a grant, in his pocket, of which no one knew; (2) to ruin Huntley, who had claims on, and possession of the same earldom.

as usual, when any casualty fell to the crown, given in to the government, under Mary's infancy, to enjoy either the inheritance, or the profits, of this opulent earldom. Huntley was the most successful pretender to that great prize, though he did not finally enjoy the inheritance of the earldom: But, even as low down, as 1564, some of his family enjoyed rights, within this earldom, of which they could not be denuded, without legal authority[x]. Huntley, and his wife, enjoyed a right to the whole profits of the earldom, till Whitsunday 1564; paying for the same, into the exchequer, yearly, 2500 marks Scots.

Meantime, the Lord James, commendator of St. Andrews, had formed the resolution of acquiring possessions, in the North, by whatever means. He acquired, by artifice, the whole earldom of Buchan. And, after the decease of the late Earl of Moray, he placed his affections, on that rich succession. At the Queen's marriage, in 1558, he solicited, for the earldom of Moray, during that joyous moment, from his sister's goodness: But, she advised him to remain, in the church, and she promised him preferment, both in Scotland, and in France. He acquiesced; but with great dissatisfaction. He renewed his solicitations, for the earldom of Moray, when he offered his duty to the Queen, in April 1561: But she did not altogether comply with his wishes, though she gave him some hopes, that she would gratify his desire, when she should arrive, within her kingdom. She seems, at that period, not to have decided, in which party she would place her government, when she should arrive, in Scotland. She, finally, resolved to intrust her affairs, in Protestant hands. And when she arrived, in August 1561, she invested the Lord James, with her whole authority, as *her minion*. The Queen, now resigned her mind, and her

[x] See a dissertation on this subject in the App. to Murray's Mem. No. VII. of the several titles to the earldom of Moray, &c.

authority, to her minister, that he could ask nothing; which was not granted. Under such circumstances, and such power, he obtained, on the 30th of January, 1561-2, under the privy seal, the Queen's grant of the earldom of Moray:[y] This was merely an *inchoate title*, leading on to a *complete one*, under the great seal. On the 7th of February 1561-2, only a few days, after the grant abovementioned, the Lord James obtained, from the Queen's facility, a grant under the *privy* seal, of the earldom of Mar, in opposition to the claims of the Erskines; and he immediately assumed the title of Earl of Mar[z]. The title of Mar was probably assumed for a time, in order to masque the real object, with regard to the earldom of Moray. In the affairs of life, such solicitations, by one gentleman, against another's rights, would be deemed a personal affront. The conduct of the Lord James, as to the earldom of Moray, is a proof of his designs on Huntley's rights, whatever they were. He concealed his aims so completely, from Randolph, that the English ambassador knew nothing of the minister's objects, till he arrived, some months after, at the mansion house of Moray. Huntley, was the second noble, in the kingdom, was the Queen's chancellor, and enjoyed the greatest influence, in the northern shires. The Earl of Mar, clearly, perceived, from all those circumstances, that with a title so defective, he could not cope with Huntley, either in the country, or in the court of session. And, he was thus induced, in prosecution of his object, when he meant to obtain possession, to carry the Queen into the north, with her ministers, and court, and with some armed men; in order to obtain, by force, what he would not have acquired, by law. All this while,

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[y] Privy Seal Reg. xxxi. 45 6.

[z] Huntley, as chancellor, had the custody of the *great seal*; so that Mar could not apply for a grant under the *great seal*, without avowing to Huntley, and to the world, his ultimate, and real views.

Huntley was unconscious of those practices against him, and could take no measures of prevention.

Yet, have historians made it a question, whether there were a plot of Huntley against Murray, or a conspiracy of Murray against Huntley. There is satisfactory evidence of a plot, by Murray against Huntley; but none for a plot, by Huntley against Murray.

While Murray was still doubtful, what measure he should adopt, for effectuating his purpose, an incident occurred, which supplied him with a pretext. On the 27th of June 1562, a rencounter happened, on the street of Edinburgh, between Sir John Gordon, Huntley's son, and Ogilvie of Cardal, about their private affairs, when Ogilvie was severely wounded. Sir John, and the other persons, concerned in this outrage, were, immediately, imprisoned, by the magistrates. Here, was a breach of the peace, and the guilty were restrained, from committing any further violence. But, the Earl of Mar, catching the occasion, to promote his designs on the earldom of Moray, hastened from Stirling to Edinburgh; where he directed additional coercion against Sir John Gordon, who, seeing a mere breach of the peace taken up, as an important affair of government,[a] made his escape, from the resentment of Mar. This was considered, as an aggravation of the first offence, and as evidence of a treasonable design of Sir John, and his father, against the Queen, and her minion[b]. Here,

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[a] Keith, 222-3.

[b] This conspiracy of the Earl of Huntley is one of the most intricate, says Robertson, and mysterious passages, in the Scotish history. Hist. i. 300. But, there is neither intricacy, nor mystery, in the transaction. The minion, in January 1561-2, obtained, from the Queen, a grant for the earldom of Moray, which was an attack on Huntley's rights, and his honour: But, this was concealed till the subsequent September. The scuffle, in the street of Edinburgh, between Sir John Gordon, and Ogilvie, happened in June 1562: But, it was an accidental affair, between individuals, about their private property, quite distinct, from any question,

then, was a sufficient ground, for Mar, and Maitland, to work upon the Queen's credulity, to believe, that Huntley, and his son, entertained traitorous designs against the Queen, and Mar. But, Mary was so occupied with her negotiation, about her meeting with Elizabeth, that she could not think of the *terrible journey* to Inverness, till the 11th of August. The falsehood imposed, by Mar, and Maitland, on Randolph, that the Queen, rather than her council, had adopted this enterprize, which was so *distressing to horse*, and *man*, evinces an imposture, by the minister, and secretary.

When the Queen, by various artifices, was persuaded of the treasons of Huntley, and of his purpose to, compel her to marry one of his sons, she set out, from Edinburgh, on the 11th of August, on horseback, on the ill-fated journey to Inverness. With a part of her train, she dined at Calder, and after dinner rode to Lithgow, where she was joined by the rest of her train, and slept[c]. On the morrow, the Queen, with a part of her

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between Huntley, and Mar. When they indicted Huntley, after the route of Corrochie, they did not carry back their charges of treason, beyond the 28th of August; because they had no proof of any charge against Huntley, before that date. We thus see the absurdity of Robertson, in talking of the conspiracy of Huntley; when it was a conspiracy against Huntley, by Mar, who was in the habit of plots. Robertson quotes two letters from Randolph and Maitland, with regard to this conspiracy, in which they talk of Huntley's measures, as notoriously treasonable: But, they were dated, in November 1562, and alluded to Huntley's coming out, in warlike array, which was undoubtedly treasonable; but they do not talk of treasons, before the 28th of August: What happened, after that date, is nothing to the purpose. Buchanan, indeed, at the end of twenty years, brought letters from the Pope, and the Cardinal of Lorraine, to the Queen, on which he built a plot of the Queen, aided by Huntley, against Mar, and the Protestants. Keith, 224. Beyond such speculations, and falsehood, folly cannot go.

[c] There remains a diary, in French, of this journey, by Sir James Ogilvie, the master of her household: Without circumstances, it merely notes, where the Queen dined, and slept every day: She travelled always *after* dinner. Meagre as this diary is, it is very useful, especially, in performing such a journey. It is in my library.

train, dined, at Callendar, and slept, at Stirling, where she was joined, by the rest of her train. She remained at Stirling, till the 18th of August. To Stirling was she accompanied, by Randolph, and followed by John Knox. She learned here, that Elizabeth was preparing forces against her relations, in France; that many of her own subjects were about to join the English army, without her assent, or knowledge. Under the influence of such mortifying notices, she set out on horseback, with a part of her train, for Aberdeen, where she arrived on the 27th of August; and where she remained till the first of September[d].

"The Queen," said Randolph to Cecil[e], "in her progress, "is now come, as far as Old Aberdeen, the bishop's seat, and "where also the university is, or at the least one college, with "fifteen, or sixteen scholars[f]. The most part of her noblemen "are here with her, the Duke excepted, with whom she is "now well pleased, and the Earl of Mar, and he, are recon- "ciled. The Earl of Huntley is here, not well in his prince's "favour, and how well that man doth deserve, your honour "knoweth, from his upright dealing with all men." It was only Elizabeth's faction, which, in the contemplation of Randolph, were upright men. "The Queen," continues Randolph, "will not grant, that she will go into his house, though "it be within three miles of her way, and the fairest, in the "country: That purpose, of hers, I know, will be broken: for "so her council findeth it expedient. Her journey is cum- "bersome, painful, and marvellous long; the weather extreme "foul, and cold; and all victuals marvellous dear, and the

[d] Ogilvie's Diary.

[e] Letter, from Aberdeen, 31st August 1562, in the Paper Office.

[f] At Old Aberdeen, there seems to have been a marvellous lack of beds: For, here, Randolph, the English resident, and Maitland, the secretary, slept together, in the same bed. Id.

" corn, that is, never like to come to ripeness." Thus far Randolph! It is easy to perceive, that the Queen had no will of her own: And, that a thousand misrepresentations had been repeatedly told her, of Huntley, the greatest noble, in Scotland, next to the Duke; descended of the royal family; the chancellor of Scotland; and a statesman, who had always been attached to the crown, while her present advisers had invariably been traitorous, and soon after ruined her, by their plots. The Queen halted here, for several days, to enable her whole train to join her, particularly, her warriors; in order to enable her, to pass, in safety, the haunted house of Huntley; to cross the outrageous river Spey; and to enable her to enter the castle of Inverness, which had proved so fatal to the gracious Duncan. It was known, before her departure, as we learn, from Randolph, that the Queen had a purpose, on her return, to make a public entry into New Aberdeen, and to remain there twenty days; in order to establish good order, in the country; and to punish divers offenders.

The Queen departed, from Old Aberdeen, on the 1st of September: And being resolved not to visit Huntley's castle, where provision had been made for her, she slept at Buquhane; on the morrow, she journeyed, by Grange, where she slept, and on the subsequent day, passed the Spey to Balveney, where she slept, and, on the morrow, went on to Elgin. In this manner, then, did the Queen, from her humour, or the humours of those, who governed her temper, lodge, in mean houses, when she might have enjoyed all the comfort, and splendour, and eclat, which Huntley could have given her[g].

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[g] Randolph wrote to Cecil, in his letter, from Spynie [the Bishop of Moray's mansion] on the 18th of September: " At the Queen's coming northward, passing " within four myles of Huntley's castle, after that he could, by no entreaty, cause " the Queen to come into his house, he desired her, to give leave unto Lord Ar- " gyle, to bring me thither, where we were two nights. His house is fair; best

The Queen remained, at Elgin till the 8th of September, when she went forward to Kinloss abbey, where she slept; and on the morrow, set out, after dinner, for Ternway, the chief mansion of the earldom of Moray, without hearing of any disturbance, where, in fact, there existed none. Here, was there held a privy council, on the 10th of September; wherein was there a proceeding against Sir John Gordon, who, as he had not entered himself a prisoner in Stirling castle, was charged to surrender into the Queen's hands, his houses of Findlater, and Auchendown, on pain of treason[h]. In the same council appeared the Earl of Mar, and producing his privy patent, for the earldom of Moray, now assumed the title[i].

On the morrow, the 11th of September, the Queen, with her suit, set out, from Ternway, for Inverness, where she arrived, in the evening. The great object, which Murray had, in bringing the Queen to Inverness, seems to have been, to wrest the castle, from Lord Gordon, Huntley's heir, to whom the keeping of it belonged, hereditarily, as well as the sheriffship of Inverness-shire[k]. The castle was demanded of Lord Gordon's

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" furnished, that I have seen, in this country; his cheer is marvellous great; his " *mind, then, such, as it appeared to us, as ought to be in any subject to his so-* " *vereign.*" Huntley's great cheer seems thus to have induced Randolph to write the truth. After Huntley's fall, his household furniture was brought into the Queen's wardrobe; and from the printed wardrobe account, we may now see, that it was quite equal to the Queen's.

[h] Keith, 225. There had hitherto been no proceedings against Huntley, because they had no charge against him, though he was, no doubt, mortified, by this persevering prosecution against his son, for a breach of the peace, aggravated, indeed, by his subsequent conduct, which arose, from the violent conduct of the minister.

[i] " It may please your honour to know," said Randolph to Cecil, " that the " Queen hath given the earldom of Moray, (which once was Earl Thomas Ran- " dolph's,) to the Earl of Mar: It is both more honourable, and greater in profit, " than the other." Letter, 18th September 1562, in the Paper Office.

[k] The sheriffship of Inverness, and the keeping of the castle, with the several

deputy: And without allowing him time, for consideration, or for consulting his superior, the castellan; his trust was promptly taken from him, by force; and the captain was, as promptly, hanged, under disputable authority. If Lord Gordon had a legal right; if his grant of 1556, being made like many others, during the Queen's minority, was liable to be recalled; yet, this must have been done, by some legal proceeding: But, the demanding of the possession, by an armed force, in time of peace, was illegal, and unwarrantable, even in the Queen herself, who could not act, but by some legitimate proceeding: And the Earl of Murray, her minion, who commanded that force, and directed that execution, was guilty of an aggravated murder. As soon as Huntley learned, that the castle was summoned, he sent with all diligence to the governor, Alexander Gordon, desiring him to surrender it; but, he had been put to death, before this direction arrived, from Huntley, on his son's behalf[l].

Randolph told this story to Cecil, at least, as far as concerned the Queen, in the following manner:[m] "At the Queen's "arrival at Inverness, she purposing to have lodged in the "castle, which pertaineth to herself, and the keeping only to "the Earl of Huntley [Lord Gordon] being sheriff, by inhe-"ritance, was refused there to have entry, and enforced to "lodge, in the town. That night, the castle being summoned,

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lands belonging to it, appertained, hereditarily, to Huntley, without any connection with the earldom of Moray. In 1556, Huntley resigned both the castle, and the sheriffship, to his son, and heir, Lord Gordon, who had married the Duke's daughter, who, thereupon, obtained the Queen's charter of confirmation, to both, according to a very common form of making up titles. [Privy Council Register, xxvii. 35.]

[l] Anderson's MS. Hist. of Scot. iii. 37. Huntley came, meantime, to Kinloss, on his way to Inverness, where he might again offer his duty to the Queen: But, hearing of the fate of his son's officer, he returned to Huntley castle. Holinshed, 380.

[m] In his letter of the 18th of September 1562, from Spynie: The original is in the Paper Office.

" to be rendered to the Queen, answer was given, by those " that kept it, in Lord Gordon's behalf, that without his " command, it should not be delivered. The next day, the " country assembled to the assistance of the Queen: The " Gordons, also, made their friends come out; we looked " every hour to what shall become of the matter: We left " nothing undone that was needful: And, the Gordons not " finding themselves so well served; and never amounting to " above five hundred men, sent word to those, that were " within, amounting only to twelve, or thirteen able men, to " render the castle, which they did: The captain was hanged, " and his head set upon the castle; some others condemned " to perpetual imprisonment; and the rest received mercy. " In all those garbulles, I assure your honour, I never saw " the Queen merrier; never dismayed; nor, never thought I, " that stomach to be in her, that I find. She repented no- " thing, but when the lords, and others, at Inverness, came " in the morning, from the watche, that she was not a man, " to know what life it was to lye all night in the fields, or to " walk upon the causeway, with a jack and knapsack, a Glas- " gow buckler, and a broad-sword. Lest your honour should " *speere* [enquire] what, in this meantime, I did; it may " please you to know that, in good faith, when so many were " occupied, I was ashamed to sit still, and did as the rest." Randolph, we see, does not distrust the authority, for committing so much violence, illegality, and murders.

Those exploits performed, the Queen, and suit, turned, from the north, towards the south, on her return, upon the 15th of September: She slept this night, at Kilravock; and on the morrow, she went to Tarneway: But, Murray having taken possession of it, did not here detain her long, having other objects, in his immediate view. On the 17th of September, she reached Spynie castle, the ancient seat of the bishoprick of Moray. From this episcopal palace of ancient note, the

Queen, and her suit, departed, on the 19th of September, in her progress, southward. The Queen was now, in this stage, to repass the Spey, at Fochabers, on her way to Cullen; and thus had she to travel through the very country of the Gordons: on the morning of her departure, she had with her, according to Randolph, 2000 men "of those they call here highland "men," and the countrymen joining her, as she travelled forwards; so that as she approached the ford of the Spey, her force amounted, in Randolph's estimate, to 3000 men. "As she "rode forward," said Randolph to Cecil, "divers reports were "brought to her: some told her, that she would be attacked "as she passed the river; others said, that she would be assayled from the woods, which skirted the road, within a "short distance of the river: and, it was said by others," continued he, "that there were, in that wood, the night before a "thousand men, not one was found, when proper persons were "sent to discover them. Of this the Queen was assured before "she approached the Spey; so that she rode forward, without "fear:" and yet, as Randolph assured Cecil, "at no time, nor at "any thing, were they discouraged, though we neither thought, "nor looked, for other, than, on that day, to have fought, or "never; what desperate blows would not have been given, "when *every man should have fought, in the sight of so noble "a Queen, and so many fair ladies;* our enemies to have taken "them from us; and we to save our honours, not to be bereft "of them, your honour can easily judge." Thus much from the descriptive pen of Randolph[n]. Yet, may we see, both, from his account, and the fact, what gross delusions were practised upon the Queen, from the guilty outset, to that dangerous day. Sir John Gordon's army of a thousand men, in the wood, were all *rogues in buckram suits*, who were not to be found, when the battle was to begin. The noble Queen,

[n] In his letter to Cecil, 24th September, from Aberdeen;—in the Paper Office.

and her fair ladies, must have been vastly disappointed, when there was no fight to elevate, and surprise them. They passed the Spey, on whose banks many a Roman, and many a rebel, had formerly fought; and went forward to a house of the laird of Banff, without seeing a single Gordon, though this district was the very land of their fathers: but, as she passed, she caused to be summoned, by sound of trumpet, Finlater house; and another mansion of Sir John Gordon, which the keepers refused to deliver; and which, without cannon, she could not take: Here was another delinquency of Sir John; and in the same manner every other householder, in Scotland, might have been made a delinquent.

Huntley remained, quietly, in his house, said Randolph; Lord Gordon, with his wife, were at Hamilton-palace; the Duke remained at home; and the guilty Sir John Gordon skulked in the fastnesses of the country, safe from Murray's ire, but not from Maitland's tongue. When the whole motives of such violent proceedings were mere imposture, even so acute a man, as Randolph, fell, necessarily, into contradictions.

From the laird of Banff's house, she proceeded, on the 20th of September, to the Shiretown, where she slept; on the morrow she proceeded to Gight, the house of a Gordon, where she slept, in safety; and on the morrow, she arrived, at Old Aberdeen, on the 22d of September, preparatory to her public entry into the New town. Here, was she, honourably received, on the morrow; "and the good mind of the inhabitants shown," said Randolph to Cecil, "as well in spectacles, plays, inter-"ludes, and other, as they could best devise. They presented "her with a cup of silver, double gilt, well wrought, with 500 "crowns in it: wine, coals, and wax, were sent in, as much, as "will serve her, while she remains here. Her determination," continues Randolph, "is to remain here forty days, at least, "within what time, she trusteth to put this country, in good

"quietness. Her noblemen remain with her; and more daily "come in."[o] A few there were, however, who said, that the only disturbers of the quiet of the country were Murray, and his coadjutors, whose whole conduct, on this northern tour, was violent, and unwarrantable.

Consultations were now held, day after day, how to reform this country, and *to make it obedient to their sovereign*,[p] said Randolph to Cecil; as if there had been any disobedience to their sovereign. It was thought best to begin, at *the head*, as such an *example* of *justice* being made on the *Lord High Chancellor of Scotland*, smaller men may be easily reformed, from their evil ways: it was, therefore, determined, that the Earl of Huntley should either submit himself, and deliver his disobedient son, Sir John Gordon, or to use such force against the Lord Chancellor, "as utterly to subvert his house, for "ever."[q] Now, we know, from Randolph's former representations, that Sir John, when the Queen, and her judges, arrived first at Aberdeen, came there, and offered himself for trial; but was committed to Stirling castle. Huntley met the Queen, at Aberdeen, invited her to his house, the fairest in the country, which had been prepared, for her reception; but, his entreaties, said Randolph, could not induce her compliance: and, he entertained part of her train, who saw nothing in his house, or in his mind, but what a loyal subject ought to have: neither was Huntley answerable, for the misdeeds of his son, with which Huntley had no privity. We thus perceive, then, from the intimations of Randolph to Cecil, that the utter ruin of Huntley's house was determined on, by the Queen's minister; not for any disloyalty conceived, by the chancellor, against the Queen; nor for any injury done to Murray; but, because Murray had done injuries to Huntley: and, this is the very definition of immoral principle, and illegitimate

[o] His letter, of the 24th September, is in the Paper Office.

[p] Letter from Aberdeen, 30th September 1562, in the Paper Office. [q] Id.

government. For these ends, however, the Queen had levied six score [120] of harquebusiers; and had sent into Lothian, for such as she [Murray] intended to employ; namely, the master of Lindsay, Grange, and Ormiston: and, she had, within sixteen miles, some cannon all equipped; and there were other pieces, in Aberdeen, which were quite sufficient. Her first measure of warfare was, to take the two houses of Finlater, and Deskford, which she had summoned, as she passed, from Cullen to Banff: but Huntley had directed the houses to be relinquished; and sent her the keys, which she declined to receive.

The Queen, hearing that Huntley had, at his castle, a cannon, which had been put into his hands, when he was lieutenant of the north, demanded this cannon, to be, within 48 hours, delivered at an appointed place, four miles from his castle. He delivered this cannon, within the time, and at the place appointed: and, he desired her messenger, Captain Hay, to deliver this answer from him; that not only that, which was her own, but also his body, and goods, were at her Grace's command. His wife, with heavy looks, led captain Hay into the chapel, and placing herself on the altar, spoke to him, in this manner: "good friend: you see here the envy, that is "borne unto my husband! would he have forsaken God, and "his religion, as those, that are now about the Queen's grace, "and have the whole guiding of her, have done, my husband "had never been put at, as now he is. God," said she, "and "he, that is upon this holy altar, whom I believe in, will, I am "sure, preserve, and let our true meaning hearts be known, "and, as I have said unto you; so I pray you, let it be said "unto your mistress; my husband was ever obedient unto her, "and so will die her faithful subject."—This message, said Randolph to Cecil, was heard at good length, by the Queen: the first part thereof told before her council, the rest in secret to herself; to the intent, her heart might have been moved to

pity. But, continued he, she knoweth so many of their conceipts, that she believeth not a word of either; and so she declared to her council, whereat there hath since been good pastime.

This leads to the enquiry, as to what led the Queen to undertake such a journey, and to act, in such a manner, with her minister, against Huntley, who had always been attached to her, and her family, and had sent a message to her, in France, by the bishop of Ross; offering the Queen his duty and service. It was given out by her ministers, that Huntley intended to seize her person, in order to compel her to marry Sir John Gordon, who was already married: she ought to have known, however, that Huntley, was one of the chief nobles, who enabled her mother, to resist the governor, Arran, when he proposed to marry the infant queen to his deranged son; she ought to have understood, distinctly, that Huntley was too experienced a statesman, to entertain such dangerous follies. She ought to have known, that her ministers were men, who were capable of asserting any falsehood, in pursuit of their object; she must have known, unless the transaction was grossly mis-stated to her, that the scuffle, in Edinburgh street, was a mere breach of the peace, without any relation to her government, as it arose, from private interests mingling with the coarse manners of that turbulent age. When she gave the Lord James her patent, for the earldom of Moray, she might have assumed a very dignified attitude. You have long solicited me, for the earldom of Moray, which I have now given you; but I understand Huntley, and his family, have some claims upon it: you must go to the Court of Session, to settle your several pretensions. If she was told, by her minister, that the affairs of the northern shires were unsettled, and it was necessary for her government, that she should go into the north, in order to settle them, this implied, that courts of

justice were to be held, for punishing wrong doers, and declaring right. But, there is no trace of juridical proceedings; and, when Sir John Gordon appeared, at Aberdeen, and offered himself to justice, he was sent prisoner to Stirling castle. There was no disturbance, at Inverness, till the Queen, and her ministers, coming there, made a forcible entry into the castle, without any legal proceeding; and hanged the governor, not for acting wrong, but for acting right. As the Queen, and her servants, seem to have had no business, at Inverness, they appear, from the beginning, to have had it in contemplation, to offer an affront, to Lord Gordon, the heir of Huntley, and the Duke's son-in-law: in favour to the Queen, we may suppose, that she may have been unconscious of the purpose of her minion, which, from the conception of this journey, was plainly directed against Lord Gordon, and his rights, the Earl of Huntley, and his rights: but the minister knew, that he could make no impression upon Huntley, and his family, by any legal proceeding: and, he was induced, to bring the Queen's person, and name, and authority, to justify violence and wrong, unwarrantableness and illegality: but the Queen's person, and presence, could not justify violence, and wrong, unwarranted proceedings, and illegal means. If the Queen, indeed, was overpowered, by the vice, and villainy, of her minion; then, must the necessity, which forced her, defend her: making Huntley, personally, liable, for the offence of his son, the circumstances, whereof evince, that he had no privity with him, was an act contrary to every law, human, and divine. But, what shall we say, to the deliberate resolution, which was adopted, by the Queen, and her ministers, to use force, and fraud, for the utter subversion of the house of Huntley, for ever? such a resolution was consistent with the practice of Turkish tyranny; while it was inconsistent with the genius, and administration, of every civilized government: yet, the Queen could not see, that her

name, her authority, and person, were prostituted to the vilest purposes of the most odious policy[r].

In pursuance of that policy, however, a considerable number of armed men were assembled around Aberdeen. An enterprize was soon after directed against Huntley's castle, for the purpose of taking, or besieging him, within it. This project seems to have been better laid, than executed. They surrounded his castle, yet by matchless dexterity, he made his escape; while his wife threw open the doors; received the besiegers, courteously; and entertained them, hospitably. When the house was searched, no suspicious person was found, nor was there any warlike provision, neither was there any fine furniture, which seems to have been removed. Wise men, as well as wise women, might, from those circumstances, have inferred, that there was yet no other proof of Huntley's guilt, than mere surmises, which, by artifices, were exaggerated, from molehills to mountains. As force had thus failed; it was now resolved to try what fraud could achieve: and, Randolph intimated to Cecil,[s] that there wanted, in the Highlands, *no good fellows*, to be instruments to any such purposes, of be-

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[r] To the same purpose, Randolph wrote to Cecil, from Aberdeen, on the 2d of November 1562: "the Queen beginneth to show, how much she was bound to "God, that had given her enemy into her hands. She declared many a shameful, "and detestable part, that he thought to have used against her: as to have mar-"ried her, whether she would; to have slain her brother, [Murray,] and whom "other that he liked; the places, the times, where that should have been done; "and how easy a matter, it was, if God had not preserved her." The original letter is in the Paper Office: but what did the whole amount to? her declaration, only, evinces what lies Murray, and Maitland, had, constantly, whispered in her ears: so as to delude her completely: and this delusion is at the best, but a sorry justification of her absurd conduct. We see, also, her affection, for her bastard brother, who was the great cause of her misfortunes. The prejudiced letters of Randolph to Cecil, on this journey, clearly show, why he had been invited to attend the Queen, not so much by her, as by Murray, and Maitland.

[s] Letter, in the Paper Office, 12th October, 1562.

traying Huntley. What profligacy! It was now resolved, by the ministers, to call a Parliament soon, that Huntley might therein be openly pronounced *a rebel* to his sovereign; but, we hear nothing of any proofs of his guilt. On the 15th of October, Huntley was denounced a rebel to his sovereign, though evidence was still wanting of his guilt, if we except the doubtful surmises of his privity, in respect to his son's offences, if he did not appear before her, on the morrow: As he could not, from the distance of his retirement, appear on the morrow, he was, on the 16th, denounced a rebel[t].

Finding that his castle was no longer his safest shelter, Huntley sent his wife to the Queen, on the 20th of October, to explain to the Queen his innocence, and his intentions: but, that respectable woman was not[a] admitted, within two miles of the court. He now sent a messenger, "offering to "enter into ward, till his cause might be tried, by the whole "nobility;" but this offer was refused, however reasonable, it was in itself, and consistent with the minister's policy. Huntley, at length, meditated to retire into the fastnesses of the highlands: but, in an unlucky hour, for himself, and his family, he resolved to appeal to arms, which could avail him little, under such circumstances[u].

Huntley was thus driven to commit an offence of great magnitude. And, he came forward to Corrachie, within twelve miles of Aberdeen, with five hundred new raised men, some of whom, daily, deserted him, in order to force his way to the Queen's presence, like Essex, at a subsequent day; when he attempted to gain access to Elizabeth, by forcible means. He had, at length, taken his ground; and by doing so, had fallen

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[t] Keith, 226; Randolph's letter to Cecil, in the Paper Office, 23d of October. On the 27th of October, the Queen in council obliged many gentlemen, named Gordon, to appear, at various places, and appointed days. Keith, 225. This was intended, no doubt, to weaken Huntley, in any opposition, that he might intend to make.

[u] Randolph's letter to Cecil, in the Paper Office, 23d of October, 1562.

into the snare, which had been laid for him, by so many artifices. Murray, as the Queen's lieutenant, now marched out, from Aberdeen, with two thousand men, to surround the victim of his policy. Huntley had taken his position, on a hill of difficult access: but, he was driven from it, by the harquebusiers, into a narrow morass below: and, he was here obliged to surrender, with his two sons, Sir John, and Adam, a boy of seventeen, after a very slight resistance[v]. Huntley had only with him, adds Randolph, his own friends, tenants, and servants, of whom divers, in two nights before, stole, secretly, from him: of those, that remained, there were slain 120; on the other side, not one man, but divers hurt, and many horses slain. Murray, when he marched out of Aberdeen against the Earl, had about 2000, said Randolph, with Athol, Morton, and many other noblemen[w].

This discomfiture was soon followed, by punishment. A court was immediately held, for the trial of the guilty. The two sons of Huntley, with many respectable men of the name of Gordon, were condemned. Sir John Gordon, who was said *to be the author of all those troubles*, was executed[x]. His

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[v] Huntley is said, by vulgar history, to have been pressed to death, in the rout: "Huntley being old and gross," said Hollinshed, 380, "was slain between the hands "of such as took him." "But the earl himself," said Randolph to Cecil, "after "that he was taken, without either blow, or stroke, being set upon horseback be- "fore him, that was his taker, suddenly falleth from his horse, starke dead, without "word, that he ever spake, after that he was upon horseback." Letter of the 28th of October, the very day of the conflict; in the Paper Office. Randolph had two servants on the field, to see the manner. Huntley died of a broken heart; and besides their report, Randolph had seen the dead corps of the earl, which was brought into Aberdeen. [w] Id.

[x] Yet, are there a few facts, and dates, which are better evidence, than Randolph's assertion. As early as the 30th of January 1562, the Queen's minister obtained a grant of the earldom of Moray, under the privy seal; as we have seen; though Huntley had many claims, and possession. This was a slie, and private, attack upon Huntley and his family: it was concealed, for eight months, namely, till Mary's arrival

brother Adam was pardoned; as he was still under the age of manhood: this boy lived to be a successful commander, on the Queen's side, during the subsequent civil wars, between her authority, and Murray's usurpation. But, for Mary's misconduct, Huntley, and his sons, would have been towers of strength to the Queen, during her troubles, if they had not been thus thrown down, by her own imprudence. And, the body of Huntley, after some debate, was preserved, for the purpose of trial, before the Parliament, and for the benefit of forfeitures to those, who might be favoured, by Murray, with donations of the spoils. All the great objects of this northern tour being thus accomplished, by giving possession of Moray to Mar, and effecting Huntley's ruin, the Queen, and her suit, returned southwards, on their progress to Edinburgh. At Aberdeen, the Queen remained, from the 22d of September, till the 5th

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at Tarneway. It was on the 27th of June, five months, thereafter, that the scuffle happened, between, Sir John Gordon and Ogilvie: so this affair had nothing to do with the matter; nor had Huntley any concern, in this breach of the peace. But, it was made, by artful management, the cause of infinite mischief. Sir John was imprisoned, by the magistrates of Edinburgh, which was sufficient, for the offence, but, when the minion interposed, to make this private incident, a state engine, for promoting his private avarice, Sir John made his escape. Then came the calumninous whispers, in the Queen's ears, against Huntley, wherein there was not one word of truth. At length, secretary Maitland, wrote his letter to Cecil, of the 14th of November 1562. "*In my conscience,*" said this lying, and forging statesman, "I know not, that any just *occasion of grudge was ever offered unto* "*Huntley:* well, the event hath made manifest his iniquity, and the innocence, "as well of her majesty, as of her ministers, towards him." [Keith, 232.] What! is soliciting a grant of a man's estate no injury? is the taking possession of an earl's right, no wrong? is the hanging a nobleman's officer, because he acts faithfully, no affront? is a cabinet resolution, to effect the utter ruin of an earl, and his family, by force, or fraud, no cause of grudge? was not an armed force sent, to besiege Huntley's castle, and arrest his person, before he took the field, and before he had done any illegal act? but, on the contrary, had made all the submissions possible to the Queen. Two of the principal causes of so much mischief, and the loss of so many lives, were Murray's miscreancy, and the Queen's credulity.

of November, when she departed for Dunnoter, where she slept:[y] She journeyed, slowly, along the coast, to Montrose;[z] and passing thence, arrived at Dundee, on the 12th. At this commercial town, was she met, by the Duke, who came to solicit pardon, for his son-in-law, Lord Gordon; instead of demanding reparation, for the wrong done to him, and his daughter, by the attack on the castle of Inverness: But, as always happens to spiritless men, he received little comfort; as it had been resolved, that nothing should be, finally, settled, till the meeting of Parliament[a]. Lord Gordon was soon after surrendered, by the Duke, when he was committed to the castle of Edinburgh. In this manner, then, was the family of Gordon ruined, by the artful villainy of an ambitious minion! By the same means, any other family, in Scotland, might have been equally run down. In fact, the Earl of Sutherland, who had attended the Queen, throughout her northern tour, on pretence of a letter, which was said to be found, in Huntley's pocket, was actually attainted of treason.

The Queen, with her suit, on the 13th of November, set out, from Dundee, for Perth, where she remained till the 16th; when she departed, on her journey, to Edinburgh, where she arrived, on the evening of the 21st of November, after an

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[y] When she was at Dunnoter, a castle of Earl Marischal, there came to her, from France, Villemort; and brought with him some letters, from the French court. There was much surmise, what he came about: Randolph though the came *for little good;* but, he soon found, from sure authority, that Villemort merely came, to seek some commoditie, either, by service, or otherwise. Randolph's letter to Lord Robert Dudley, 18th November 1562.

[z] When the Queen was at Montrose, there came to her another Frenchman, [Chatelar] a servant of Mons. d'Anville's: He arrived an hour before the Queen's supper; and brought only one letter of three sheets of paper, which Randolph saw delivered to the Queen, who read it with satisfaction. The Queen afterwards had several long conversations with this Frenchman [Chatelar.] Id. Such communications with France, generally, gave the Queen great satisfaction.

[a] Randolph's letter to Cecil, 18th November 1562. Keith, 231.

absence of nearly four months. But, what was the result? Her whole journey was founded, in imposture, and conducted, by fraudulence, and force, for the benefit of her minion. Being, egregiously, imposed upon, by a thousand of his fictions, and falsehoods, the Queen was at once made the victim of his ambition, and the instrument of his murders. In Scotland, during this reign, it was not, as in France, under the peculiar administration of professed ministers, who debased the nobles, and thereby elevated the throne. Murray acted, studiously, for himself, but not for the Queen: What he derived, by the sacrifice of so many respectable men, he placed, in his own scale, which raised her's[b]. At one blow, he had ruined two noble families; Huntley's, and Sutherland's; and he was, at the same time, in pursuit of Bothwell. His progress, then, was rapid, in removing every noble, who could oppose his career of ambition: His faction had long been powerful; and he every day, by successive adventures, made it still more numerous, and more forcible: While Murray thus converted Mary, by so many arts, into his appropriate instrument; he himself was the mere tool of Elizabeth[c]. But, the head, and heart of the

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[b] He immediately transferred the great seal, from Huntley, to his bosom friend, the Earl of Morton, who was a man, worthy of himself. He immediately obtained a complete title to the earldom of Moray, with full possession. He acquired the castle of Inverness, with the lands belonging to it, and the sheriffship of Inverness, which extended over Ross, Sutherland, and Cathness, which had belonged heretibly, to Lord Gordon. He acquired the lands of Strathern and Cardel, which were, by the Queen's mandate, transferred to him, by James Ogilvie, who obtained the lands of Findlater, and Deskford. But, enough of this acquirement of Murray! The Queen, by her credulity, lost as much as he obtained.

[c] Doctor Robertson, regarding *the conspiracy* of the Earl of *Huntley against Murray*, as one of the mysterious passages in the Scotish history, has bestowed on *this mystery* of reversing the conspiracy of the Earl of Murray, an elaborate note; in order to arrive at two conclusions; that Murray had no deliberate intention of ruining the family of Gordon: (2) that the violent conduct of Huntley was owing to a sudden start of resentment, without any premeditated purpose of rebellion.

Scotish Queen were occupied with other objects, than the supporting of the authority of her crown, and the promoting of the influence of her person!

The moment, that the Queen arrived, at Edinburgh, on the 21st of November, after four month's absence, she was taken ill of a disease, which would now be called the *influenza*, which detained her in bed six days[d]. Of that illness, her youth, and constitution, easily obtained the better; so that she soon became quite well: But, of her political diseases, under the infection of Elizabeth, and the management of Murray, she never recovered; though she had some moments of ease, and quiet.

[Hist. i. 300.] But, the whole facts, which are related, in this Section, are so many contradictions to his *theory*.

[d] The best accounts of that disease, as well as other matters of equal importance, may be learned, from Randolph's letter to Cecil, from Edinburgh, of the 30th November 1562, in the Cotton lib. Calig. B. ix., fo. 177.

"Maye it please your h. immediatelye upon the Queenes arrival, here, she fell "acquainted, with a newe disease, that is common, in this towne, called here the "newe acquayntance, which passed, also, through her whole courte, neither sparing "lorde, ladie, nor damoysell, not so muche as either Franche, or Englishe: It is a "payne in their heades, that have it, and a sorenes in their stomackes, with a great "coughe; it remayneth, with some longer, with others shorter tyme, as it fyndeth "apte bodies, for the nature of the disease: The Quene kepte her bedde six dayes: "There was no appearance of danger, nor maynie, that die of the disease, excepte "foure olde folkes. My L. of Murraye is nowe presentlye in it, the L. of Leding-"ton hathe had it; and I am ashamed to saye, that I have bene free of it, seeinge "it seekethe acquaintance, at all mens handes. By reason of these occasions, I have "not seen her G. since she came to towne." After speaking of some reports of "the taking of Roan, &c. which he got from York, he says "There came nether "shippe, nor man, by lande, owte of France since *Chatellet* came to the courte.

"The Duke came to Edinburgh upon Thursday last, and brought with him the "Lord Gordon by command of the Queen—On Saturday, the Lord Gordon was "committed to the castle."

SECTION V.

From her Return to Edinburgh, till Randolph visited her, at St. Andrews.

MARY, as we might infer, from Randolph's intimation to Cecil, did not enjoy much hilarity, when the new year began. The reign of Charles IX., under the regency of the Queen mother, was still more tumultuous, than the former. The great, continually, urged the mean, to raise disturbances, in order, that they themselves might profit from the crimes of others. The Queen's uncles, who bore great sway, were, naturally, involved in troubles, which were raised, by those, who had ambition, for their ends, and religion, for their means. The grand prior was, mortally, wounded, fighting bravely, at the battle of Dreux. And the celebrated Duke of Guise was assassinated, at the siege of Orleans, by Poltrot, a pious Huguenot. Mary, having neither frequent, nor distinct informations, from France, saw every event, as it were through a mist, especially when misrepresentations came to her, from the delusive tongue of Randolph, the English agent.

The Queen, under such circumstances, endeavoured to elevate her spirits, by slight excursions into the country; because exercise had always the most salutary effects, on her health. With this salutary intention, she went to Castle-Campbell, to be present, at the marriage of the commendator of St. Colm to the Earl of Argyle's sister, on the 10th of January 1562-3. On the 14th, she returned to Edinburgh, where she was taken

ill. And she now remained, at her metropolis, till the 13th of February.

In the mean time, was she endangered, and vexed, by an incident of a very uncommon occurrence. When the Queen arrived, from France, there came, in the train of Mons. d'Anville, one Chatelard, a gentleman, by birth a soldier, by profession, a scholar from education, and a poet, by choice. He returned, with d'Anville, to France, after enjoying, from the rank of his protector, the various amusements of Mary's court, and feeling the influence of Mary's manners. Chatelard liked, whom, and what he saw, well enough, to visit those various objects, again. In November 1562, he arrived, as we have seen, with letters, from d'Anville, and others, for the Queen, and was well received; because he was, favourably, recollected, by every one at court, except, by all those, who delighted, in promoting Randolph's intrigues, and Murray's views. If we might believe Knox, who constantly thinks, that his motives may justify his means, we ought to be of opinion, that the Queen used such personal freedoms with Chatelard, as to justify him, in using similar freedoms, in return. He proceeded the full length, on the 12th of February 1562-3, of concealing himself, in the Queen's bed chamber, when she was about to retire into it, for the night, with his sword, and dagger, beside him. This fact, being concealed, from the Queen, by her female attendants, from prudential motives, till the morning, the Queen commanded Chatelard out of her sight. The Queen, with a part of her train, left Edinburgh on the 13th; and slept, at Dunfermling. On the 14th, she proceeded to Burnt-Island, where she slept. Chatelard, notwithstanding, followed her into Fife, and came to Burnt-Island, on the 14th: And, the Queen having retired into her bed chamber, Chatelard presented himself before her, coming in, immediately, after her; to clear himself, as he said, from the former imputation against his conduct. Astonished at his audacity, "the Queen herself

32266

" was fain to cry for help :" The Earl of Murray was sent for, when the Queen, amidst her agitations, commanded her minister to put his dagger in him : But Murray thought proper, to send him to ward; reserving this daring, or infatuated miscreant, to the due course of law, which would lay open the whole transaction. The chancellor, the justice clerk, and other counsellors, were sent for to Edinburgh. This wretched enthusiast was tried, in a few days, at St. Andrews; and, on the 22d of February, was executed[e]; " reading over, on the " scaffold," says Brantome, " Ronsard's hymn on death, as " the only preparation, for the fatal stroke." The Queen perceiving, that her bed chamber was not safe, from such intrusions, adopted the resolution of taking Mary Fleming, " to be her bed fellow." She was one of the daughters of Lord Fleming, and was one of the four Maries, who had gone to France, with her; returned in her train; and continued one of her maids of honour, till she married Mr. Secretary Maitland. The Queen, on the 15th of February, proceeded, from Burnt-Island to Falkland; and on the 16th, she dined at Coupar; and, in the evening, arrived at St. Andrews. Here she remained, amusing herself, with the pastimes of the country, till the 18th of March. " The Queen," said Randolph to Cecil, " is now healthy, and merry, most commonly riding " in the fields, as time will serve her: Her care is, continually, " great, for her uncles, and her desire wonderful, for the quiet " of France[f]." About the 16th of this month, the Queen heard, at St. Andrews, of the death of her uncle, the Duke of

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[e] Randolph's letters to Cecil, in the Paper Office, 15th and 28th of February 1562-3; and there was a third letter, by Elizabeth's special direction, who seemed to delight, in this incident: as it supplied a story, for scandal to amplify. I have stated the above facts, as Randolph related them to Cecil; but, without his sarcasm.

[f] Randolph's letter to Cecil, in the Paper Office, 10th March 1562-3.

Guise, by assassination[g]. Coligni, the rival of that illustrious man, had the generosity to say, that the taking off such a personage, by such means, was a dastardly deed. The Queen wrote letters of condolence to the Queen mother, to her grandmother, to the Duke's widow, and to her other friends, in France;[h] thus consoling herself, by offering consolation to others. She departed, from St. Andrews, on the 18th of March, for Coupar, where she remained a day; and thence proceeded to Falkland. She here tried to dissipate her melancholy, by the pastimes of Falkland, on the 20th, 21st, and 22d. On the morrow, she set out on a short tour, through the neighbouring countries; and returned to St. Andrews, on the 29th of March, where she remained till the 3d of April, when she returned to Falkland. Here, she amused herself, in her usual manner, till the 19th of April, when she removed to Lochleven. Having sent for Knox, to meet her, at Lochleven, he had an interview with her here, on the 13th of April, when she desired him, to endeavour to reconcile the earl, and Countess of Argyle: On the morrow, he again met the Queen, at *the hawking*, on the westward of Kinross![i]

Randolph bore frequent testimony to the salutariness of so much exercise, on horseback, in the open air, for the Queen's health, and spirits. On the 15th of April 1563, she departed from Lochleven, dined at Strathhenry, and rode to Falkland, in the evening. On the morrow, she dined at Newark, and rode to Coupar, in the evening. On the 17th, she dined at Coupar, and went to St. Andrews, in the afternoon. And she now resided pretty constantly, at St. Andrews, where a part of her train joined her, soon after, from Falkland, till the 16th of May.

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[g] Randolph's letter to Cecil, in the Paper Office, 10 March 1562-3. The Queen's movements are, from her household book.

[h] Ibid, 18th March 1562-3.

[i] See Knox's Hist. 326-7; and Knox's coarse Epistle to Argyle, p. 328, on his conjugal fidelity.

A part of her train left her, on the 16th of May; and went, by Kinghorn, to Edinburgh. She followed, on the 16th; and slept at Coupar. On the 17th, leaving that shire town, she dined at Brunton, near Markinch, and slept, at Burnt-Island. After breakfast, on the morrow, she set sail, for Leith, and arrived, in the evening, at Edinburgh, after an absence of nearly five months.

In the meantime, the Countess of Sutherland, the Earl of Lennox's sister, came to Edinburgh, to solicit for her husband. The Countess of Huntley, who came to support the cause of her ruined family, could neither get access, nor hope, in her suit. Supported by the preachers, and populace, in Scotland, and by Elizabeth, and Cecil, in England, Murray acted altogether, as dictator. Divers priests were taken, at Easter, saying mass, in secret houses, and in woods: And, some of them were driven to seek shelter, in England. The Archbishop of St. Andrews, the Prior of Whithorn, and the Abbot of Crossragual, were prosecuted upon the same charge. "The Queen," said Randolph to Cecil, "being desirous to free "the archbishop, yet could not, wept to see her authority de-"fied.[k] Well might she weep, to see a tyranny introduced into her kingdom, and her laws set at nought. The proceedings against those religious persons, were like those against the Earl of Huntley, violent, and unwarrantable. There was then no law, in Scotland, to support such prosecutions. The proceedings of the convention, 1560, were not legal, till they were legitimized, by the parliament of December 1567. The Queen's proclamation, for quieting the country, by a toleration, did not repeal the ancient law of the land[l]. Sad is the

[k] Keith, 241.

[l] Between the months of October, and November, 1566, a dozen acts, concerning the church, and religious worship, were abstracted, from the statute book of Scotland; and a spurious statute book palmed upon a deluded country. This singular villainy was committed, probably, by M'Gill, the clerk register, under Murray's

condition of that nation, where the law is unknown, or uncertain. Wretched is the country, which has not one lawyer, who will raise his voice, for law, and justice.

The time was now fast approaching, when the Parliament was to meet, after its prorogation, in January, for the dispatch of various matters of great weight. The Queen feared, that she should be pressed, at this Parliament, in matters of religion. The expected Parliament assembled, at length, on the 26th of May 1563. The Queen came to Parliament, the same day, in her robes, and was crowned: The Duke carried the crown; Argyle the sceptre; and Murray the sword. The Queen delivered a speech to Parliament, in her native language. On the same day, she gave a feast to the *ladies* of Scotland, as we learn from her household book. She is said to have been present, at the forfeitures of Huntley, Sutherland, and many of their friends, on whatever proofs[m]. The Parliament now diverged to other affairs of full as much importance. For the affection, which the Queen bore her people, and for the mutual quiet of her subjects, she passed an act of oblivion, for all acts done, from the 6th of March 1558, to the 1st of September 1561. This act, was plainly intended, for burying, in oblivion, the whole violences of the reformation; and the chief reformers were appointed, by the act, for carrying it into effect[n]. Some salutary laws of domestic economy were also

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administration. A collation of the Black Acts, 12th October 1566, with the acts, 28th November, following, demonstrates the fact: And, the fact evinces, that there was no law, in Scotland, to warrant such prosecutions.

[m] Parl. Rec. 772. The whole of those forfeitures were reversed, by the Parliament of April 1567. The Countess of Huntley, with a noble spirit, protested against those proceedings of 1563; and prayed, without success, to be heard, by counsel.

[n] In this Parliament, saith Holinshed, 380, the act of oblivion, which was mentioned, in the treaty of Edinburgh, 1560, was ratified, and approved, and divers new acts made. This is, inaccurately, stated; as the act evinces: Yet, such was the conceipt, that came down, from contemporary writers, who seldom look into

passed, during this session. One other act was passed, in that session, which created some disturbance, though it was intended for a different purpose: The act, for preventing any one, from summoning together the Queen's people, without her consent. But, Knox, holding *the law* to be inferior to *the religion*, did summon the Queen's people, without her assent: and he was brought, in charge, before the privy council. This charge ended, in Knox conjuring the Queen "to forsake her "idolatrous religion:" Whereupon, the chancellor, Lord Morton, desired him, *to hold his peace, and go away*[o]. This case, is a strong example, that the government was carried on, much more for the benefit of the minister, than the advantage of the crown[p].

documents. The act of oblivion, mentioned in the treaty of Edinburgh, received the royal sanction, says Robertson, Hist. i. 309. Yet, in the statute, there is not any mention of the treaty of Edinburgh, nor any allusion to it: By not reading the statute, the historian deluded himself; and thus deluded others. He adds, however, that the lords, in Parliament, on their knees, besought the Queen, to allay the jealousies of her subjects, by such a gracious law. For this assertion, he quotes Spottiswoode, 188, who says, indeed, what is true, that an act of oblivion was passed, without any respect to the treaty of Edinburgh, which the Queen would never acknowledge. See Sir George Mackenzie's Observations on the Acts of P. 165. If there was any mention, or allusion, to what was called the treaty of Edinburgh, in the draught of that act, the Queen may have objected, that she would not pass it, under such circumstances: This objection may have given rise to some discussion, which may have ended, in striking out the points objected to: And, hence the tradition, which came down from those writers, who never read the act.

[o] Spottiswoode, 188.

[p] Knox, and his editor, Crawford, seem to have written, and published, such an account of Scotish affairs, as to burlesque history, and degrade themselves. The Queen, and her ladies, having attended Parliament, in court dresses, and the ladies of Scotland being feasted by the Queen, were thus described: "All things mis- "liked the preachers; they spake boldly against the *targatting* of their tails, "and against the rest of their vanity, which, they affirmed, should provoke "God's vengeance, not only against these foolish women, but against the whole "realm." [Knox, 330.] The appropriate glossarist explains, *to taggard*, to border with tassels. But, this does not well comport with the context: The preachers

The Parliament being thus ended on the 4th of June, without reforming dress, the Queen, said Randolph to Cecil, *hath made her highland apparel*, for her journey into Argyle[q]. According to Spottiswoode, the rest of this summer, the Queen spent, in hunting in the countries of Athol, and Argyle[r]. Spottiswoode, however, is quite mistaken, in supposing, that the Queen went, on that occasion, into Athol: From Inverary, she turned to the westward. The Queen remained, at Edinburgh, till the 29th of June; making, however, short excursions, in the neighbourhood; dining with Morton, at Dalkeith, on the 9th, and sleeping on the same night, at Melville. On the 29th of June, she dined, at Edinburgh, and slept, at Linlithgow. On the subsequent day, she rode from Linlithgow, to Dunypace, where she spent the night. This, then, was the first stage of a very extensive excursion, which she made, through the west, and southwest of Scotland; during the two subsequent months. On the 1st of July she rode from Dunypace to Glasgow, near which she remained till the 13th; visiting Hamilton, and Paisley. On the 14th, after dining at Glasgow, she rode to Dunbarton, where she slept. On the morrow, she rode to Rossdu, on Lochlomond, where she passed the 16th: And on the 17th, she returned to Dunbarton. She passed the 18th at Dunbarton: But, on the next day, she went to Currie, where she slept, and remained even on the 20th; On the 21st, she rode to Thoard, where she remained till after dinner, on

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spake boldly against the ladies, for putting *tassels* on their skirts, which the preachers considered, as the curse of God, and which would bring vengeance on the land. Articles were given in, it seems, to that Parliament, for the reformation of *apparel*; but, all was *scripped* at. [Id.] *Scrip*, according to Dr. Jamieson, means, a *mockery*: So, *to scrip* must mean, that the preachers were scoffed at, with their reform of dress. The ladies, it should seem, had more influence, in Parliament, than the preachers, who did not reflect, that there may be too much reformation, as well as too little.

[r] Letter 13th of June 1563, in Keith, 240.

[q] Hist. 188: Randolph too gave in his letters of recal, on the 19th of June.

the morrow. On the 22d, after dining at Thoard, she rode to Inverary. The Queen remained three days, and a half, at Inverary: The Countess of Argyle, who entertained her, was her natural sister, being the daughter of James V., and the wife of the Earl of Argyle. She was present with the Queen, at supper, in her closet, when the King, and the other conspirators, entered, and assassinated Rizzio, in their presence. The Countess had the honour to represent Queen Elizabeth, at the baptism of King James; for which the preachers made her do penance, in the church. The Queen left Inverary, on the 26th of July; and instead of passing to the eastward, over the heights of Albin, into Athol, she turned to the westward, to Strone, where she slept; and went to Dunoon, on the 27th, where she slept, and passed the following day. On the 29th, she rode to Toward, on the promontory of Toward, being the south point of Cowel, projecting into the frith of Clyde opposite to Rothsay, in Bute. She dined, at Toward, and passed, from thence, the frith of Clyde to the coast of Cuningham, and slept at Southannan. Here she dined, on the morrow, and rode to Eglington. The household book, from which this interesting itinerary was taken, is unfortunately wanting, for the month of August 1563.

It appears, however, that the Queen remained, about a fortnight, in Ayrshire; that she passed, from Carrick into Galloway; spent some days, at the abbey of St. Mary isle, near Kirkudbright, whereof her Treasurer, Richardson, was commendator; and proceeded thence to Dumfries, on the eastward[r]. Soon after the Queen's return, her minister, with his two bastard brothers, went into the land of Moray, as far as

[r] The Queen was at Dunure, on the coast of Carrick, on the 13th of August. [Privy Seal Rec. xxxii. 112:] In the same record, there is a charter, granted, by her, at St. Mary's isle, on the 15th of August. Privy Seal. Rec. xxxi. 143; and she was at the same place, on the 18th of August 1563. [Ib. xxxii. 1-3.] She was, at Dumfries, on the 20th of August. [Keith, App. 97.]

Inverness, where they held justice courts, and besides punishing thieves, and murderers, in an evil hour, burnt two of the *weird sisters*, of the classic ground of Forres, who, by their incantations, however, cast disease, and death, on the Lord John of Coldingham, who died at Inverness[s].

Randolph returned to the Queen, in September, with fresh powers, and new projects, which led on to important consequences[t]. He had been called to London, for the useful purpose of personal conference: and, he returned, with a body of instructions from Elizabeth, which turned almost altogether, on *the marriage-of her sister.* Secretary Cecil had exerted all his powers of disquisition, in forming a discourse on the proper marriage of a Queen, which was embodied into instructions, for the resident Randolph, to woo a Queen to wed, who was very capable of laughing, at such a proposal of marriage, without an offer, even, for the man in the moon; to promote, or retard, whatever pretender to the hand of Mary, as the caprice of Elizabeth might frown on, or favour:[u] And he was instructed to hint, "that he could not but wish, there might be found "some noble person of good birth, within this our realm, that "might be agreeable, to our good sister." Here, then, was a notable play-thing put into the hand of Mary, who trans-

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[s] Keith, 240.

[t] The Queen remained about Edinburgh, during the first eight days of September; riding out sometimes, to dinner, and returning generally, but not always, to her own bed, in Holyrood-house. On the 8th of September, she set out for Linlithgow, and Stirling; where she remained, from the 10th to the 13th, when she went to Drummond castle; she remained, in Glenfinlas, on the 14-15-16; when she went to Callander, in the evening. On the 17th she went to Dunblane; and on the 18th, in the evening, she returned to Stirling: And here she remained till the 30th of September. [Household book.]

[u] Elizabeth, and Cecil, were very grave; expecting that they might throw out some bait, that might catch the Scotish Queen, though the simplest boarding school Miss would not have been captivated, by such loose, and idle talk.

ferred a share of this goodly negotiation to her minister, Murray, and her secretary, Maitland.

Meantime, a new treaty had been entered into with Elizabeth's wardens of the marches, which, as caprice did not interpose, was easily settled, for ensuring the quiet of the conterminous borders. The Queen now began to feel, that she had courted Elizabeth too much, and the Queen mother of France too little. The payment of Mary's dowry, in that country, was stopped, by an unwarrantable act; the duke was deprived of his duchy; and the captain of the Scots guards, which belonged, by a sort of right, to the Prince of Scotland, was given to a Frenchman. To those causes of mortification, from abroad, the Queen had to sustain a deeper wound, at home. It was, from Knox, and his faction, said Randolph to Cecil, "who intended, by a mu-"tinous assembly, convened by his letter, to have rescued two "of their brethren, from the course of law, for an outrage "upon a priest, saying mass in the Queen's chapel, in Holy-"rood-house[v]." Knox was caressed, by Cecil, as an instrument, to disturb Mary's quiet: And Murray had indulged Knox till he placed himself above the law, and set his patron, at defiance; who yet dared not to punish him. Such was the state of domestic matters, at the end of 1563. It was thus natural, for the Queen, to abstract herself, from Edinburgh, which had been reformed into fanaticism, and raised into faction, which were aggravated, by the hypocrisy of her minion, who converted every incident to his own interest, but to the Queen's disadvantage.

At the end of this year 1563, the Queen's attention was wholly engaged, with the lovers, whom Elizabeth had found for her: Many were importunate to know, what person Elizabeth meant: Whether Lord Ambrose Dudley, whether the Earl of Leicester, whether Lord Darnley. It was, no doubt,

[v] Id.

excellent Christmas pastime, to decypher the enigmas of Elizabeth, who was the greatest enigmatist of her age. The Queen mother of France, and the Cardinal of Lorraine, meantime, urged the Scotish Queen "that it was not safe to trust "Elizabeth's counsel in her marriage, who means, merely, to "serve her own turn." And the French government, seeing that intercourse, between the two British kingdoms, endeavoured to restore the ancient league; gave fresh assurances, for the payment of her dowry: the Scots guards were to be restored, and given to her brother, the Lord Robert; and the Scotish nation, were to be restored to their former privileges. Thus was the Scotish Queen, for the moment, caressed, by the two Queens of England, and of France. Yet, was her life, constantly, embittered, by the seditious conduct of Knox, who was yet protected, by Murray, her brother, and minion, who would sacrifice nothing to her, but convert every incident to his own aggrandizement. She was now out of humour with[w] both: But, throughout her whole life, she never could see, and understand, that Murray's whole conduct was adverse, from her stability, or ease.

The Queen remained, at Edinburgh, throughout the month of January 1563-4, as we learn, from her Household book: She continued there the most of February, as we know, from events. In January, and February, down to the 14th, the Queen gave great entertainments, to the lords; and in return, the lords[x] gave great banquets to the Queen. In the meantime, Murray seemed to approve of the match, with Lord Robert Dudley; but, dared not to propose it; being full of difficulties. The Duke sheweth himself an earnest friend to the protestants. The Queen, by missing her attempt, to have Knox banished, for his sedition, perceived, that there would be difficulty to attain her own desire; *the power of the faction being*

[w] Keith, 248-9. [x] Knox, 346.

so strong[y]. Under such circumstances, the Queen found it more invigorating to her health, and exhilarating to her spirits, to prefer the country to her metropolis. On the 6th of March, she left Edinburgh, and proceeded to Perth, where she remained till the 24th, when she rode to Falkland. At this noble seat of her progenitors, she remained till the 4th of April, when she made an excursion to St. Andrews. She returned to Falkland, on the 6th, where she remained till the 16th, when she again repaired to Perth, the favourite seat of James I, who was there assassinated: And here she remained till the end of April, except that she visited Ruthven, on the 25th. She now remained, at Perth, till beyond the middle of May, when she returned to Edinburgh; as we know, from the Privy-seal Register.

In the meantime, Randolph intrigued in vain, for Elizabeth's unknown lover, on unknown principles. Proposals of marriage, from the man in the moon, are not, however, very acceptable to any lady. The Scotish Queen was not much delighted, with the enigmatical courtship of her enigmatical sister. The Scotish Queen commanded Randolph,[z] "to signify to her sister, her "affection; judging better of her meaning than her words: "Princes have not at all times, their will; but her heart is her "own; and she desired, that their enemies may rather envy the "kindness between them, than to be able to remove mutual "affection." The great object of this amatory epistle was, to incite the candour of Elizabeth, at least, for a moment. Elizabeth now saw, that her silence would only produce distrust; and that she must name the happy man, who was honoured with her recommendation: Randolph, not long after, acquainted the Scotish Queen with the person, whom Elizabeth offered to her sister, Mary, as the fittest match. Strange to tell! she

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[y] Randolph to Cecil, 13th of January, 1563-4, in Keith, 248.

[z] Randolph's letter to Elizabeth, 8th March 1563-4.

named her own paramour, the Earl of Leicester[a]. The Emperor was still a suitor to the Cardinal of Lorraine, the Queen's uncle, for his son, the Archduke, to marry the Scotish Queen: He offered 2,000,000 franks, yearly; and, after his death, 3,000,000[b]. The Scotish Queen heard, with patience, the Earl, mentioned; but, deferred any resolution, said Randolph to Cecil.

The Queen, however, opened her mind very fully, not long after. She said, that one of the three advices, which the Queen of England sent her, for her choice, was to regard her honour; and can that be for my honour, said she, to marry a subject? Randolph answered, Yes: For, by means of him, you are like to inherit a kingdom: Not so, replied the Scotish Queen, for my sister may have children, or may outlive me: It is not, added she, conform to her promise, to use me as a sister, or daughter, and to marry me to her subject, although I hear well of the gentleman. I said, it might well stand, with her promise, for there was not a worthier man to be found in her kingdom: And this will secure peace, enrich your country, and advance justice, between the two kingdoms. It is, sufficiently, apparent, that Randolph did not answer the Queen's objections. He had, however, a similar conversation,

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[a] "The next day, my Lord Leicester," says Melvil, in his Memoirs, p. 51, "desired me to go down the river with him, in his barge to London. He had in his company Sir Henry Sidney. By the way, my lord entered into familiar discourse with me; and desired to know what my Queen thought of him, and the marriage, that Mr. Randolph had proposed. Whereunto, I answered, very coldly, as I had been, by my queen, commanded. Then, he began to purge himself of so proud a pretension, as to marry so great a Queen; declaring he did not deem himself worthy to wipe her shoes; insisting that the intention of that proposal of marriage, proceeded from Mr. Cecil, his secret enemy. For, if I, said he, "should have appeared desirous of that marriage, I should have offended both the Queens, and lost their "favour. He entreated me, to excuse him, at her Majesty's hands: and to beg, "in his name, that she would not impute that matter to him, but to the malice of "his enemies." Was there ever such a treaty of marriage before, under the moon!

[b] Keith, 252.

the same day, with Murray, Argyle, and Maitland, by the Queen's appointment; and they resolved, to have a meeting, and conference, at Berwick: Now; the Scotish Queen well approved Lord Bedford to be one of the commissioners, though the time was not yet fixed. What the Queen of Scots had so anxiously wished for, a peace between England, and France, was settled, at Troys, in Champaigne, during April 1564[c].

Early in April 1564, Bedford arrived, at Berwick, in order to discuss the point, which had been resolved, for the conference, at that renowned town[d]. The Scotish Queen did not approve of Leicester. Elizabeth did not want to part with him: And, of course, the commissioners had very little to settle, by conference. Whatever disappointment, Lord Robert Dudley may have sustained, by being rejected by a Queen, whom he did not court, was amply made up, by Elizabeth, who raised him, and his brother, to higher honours. He was created Earl of Leicester, on the 29th of September 1564. The commissioners seemed to have diverged to a former proposal of the two Queens, a meeting in England: But, the Queen of Scots seems to have declined, to meet Elizabeth, unless her eventual right to the succession of England, were first settled, by Parliament[e].

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[c] Camden's Eliz. 70.

[d] That the Queen, my mistress, might have the higher esteem, for Lord Robert, said Melvil [Mem. fol. p. 47.] I was required to stay, till I should see him made Earl of Leicester, which was done, at Westminster, with great solemnity; the Queen herself, helping to put on his ceremonial; he sitting on his knees before her, with great gravity: But, she could not refrain, from putting her hand, in his neck, smilingly tickling him, the French ambassador, and I, standing by. "So, "Elizabeth would have Mary, to marry this dear object of her own affections!"

[e] Cecil has placed, in his Diary, 4th June, "The Scots Queen refused to meet "the Queen's Majesty, in England, except she were acknowledged, by Parliament, "to be the heir presumptive." Murdin, 755. There was, at that time, a good deal of writing, in England, about the succession to the crown, which affected the Queen's rights. Camd. Eliz. Transl. 73.

With a view to those discussions, as to her presumptive title to the crown of England, the Scotish Queen, as early as May 1564, gave the Earl of Lennox leave, to come into Scotland, for the recovery of his forfeited rights.

So much has been said above of pretensions, and of titles, to the crown, that it may be proper, here, to add a few words, on those perplexing topicks. The two roses, the symbols of the families of York, and Lancaster, were conjoined, by the marriage of Henry VII, with Elizabeth of York: Of this marriage was born Henry VIII, and the Lady Margaret. Henry VIII. left three legitimate children; Edward VI. who succeed him; and died, in July 1553. Mary, who succeeded him, and died in November 1558; Elizabeth, who was born, on the 7th of September 1533, and succeeded her sister, Mary; began to be rather old maidish, when the Parliament wooed her to wed, in 1566

The pretensions of the Scotish Queen arose, in this manner: The Lady Margaret, the eldest daughter of Henry VII, married James IV, who died, in 1513; leaving, by her, James V, who was the father of Mary, by the Duchess of Longueville. The Lady Margaret married, 2dly, after the demise of James IV, Archibald, Earl of Angus: By this marriage, there was a daughter, Lady Margaret Douglas. Matthew, Earl of Lennox, who was himself related to the royal family of Scotland, during the minority of Mary, acted in such a manner, that he could neither return into France, from whence he came, nor remain, in Scotland, where he was forfeited. Lennox now fled into England, where he was received into the protection of Henry VIII, who gave him his niece, the Lady Margaret Douglas, in marriage, with lands, amounting to fifteen hundred marks, a year: Of this marriage was Lord Darnley, the grandson of the Lady Margaret, and the great grandson of Henry VII: Lady Lennox was, plainly, the cousin-german of Queen Elizabeth.

We may now perceive, the prudence of the Scotish Queen,

when she invited Lennox, to Scotland, with a view to repeal the act of his forfeiture. Cecil, meantime, busied himself, in collecting documents, in order to prove Elizabeth's cousin, Lady Lennox, a bastard; owing to some informality, in the marriage of her father, with the Princess Margaret, who was divorced, from Angus. In those irregular times, there were few escutcheons, in which the malignant diligence of Cecil, to gratify Elizabeth's jealousy, might not have discovered some blot. Lady Lennox had, moreover, pretensions on the earldom of Angus, which the Queen, also, settled out of her own estates, though those, who were the most benefited, were not the most grateful.

The Queen of Scots, in order to free herself, from some of those cares, resolved to leave Edinburgh, for a while, to the factious, and the fanatics. On the 22d of July 1564, she set out for Linlithgow; whence she proceeded to Stirling, where she remained a day, or two.

On the 25th she dined, at Kincardin; and in the evening rode forward to Perth[f]. At this agreeable town, she remained till the 31st of July. From Perth, she proceeded to Athol, "to the hunting." And from this amusive region, she passed the Alpine heights, which separate Athol, and the Tay, from Badenoch, and the Spey: she now went through the intervenient highlands to Inverness; and from thence to the canonry of Ross. The object of that distant journey, which was far more dangerous, and difficult, than Randolph's *terrible journey* to Inverness, was not then known, and cannot be completely ascertained: As she knew, that Lennox was arrived, in Scotland, and Darnley expected: As, amidst the various courtships, that had distressed her, she had resolved, secretly, to marry Darnley, if she should like his person, and conversation; the Queen, probably, went to Ross-shire, to enquire, without the

[f] She was at Dunoter, on the 5th of September. Privy Seal Reg. xxxii. 99.

knowledge of the statesmen, at Edinburgh, what was the value of the earldom of Ross, which she meant to settle on Darnley, before their marriage, wishing, in case of any accident to her, to leave him an Earl, with a large estate, and a great following, which was so sought for, in those times, when men were of more value than money. Having thus satisfied her own mind, without the knowledge of others, she resolved to return, along the eastern road, by Aberdeen to Edinburgh. She now repassed, through the country of the Gordons, which had once been held out, as so frightful: she remained a night, at Gartley, where there is still a ruined castle; and the parish whereof belongs even now to the Duke of Gordon. She rode forward to Aberdeen; without seeing Huntley's Ghost: And went thence to Dunoter, where she remained a night: And thence proceeding along the coast road to Dundee, she there crossed the Tay into Fife; and diverging for a few days to St. Andrews, she returned to Edinburgh, about the 26th of September, after an absence of two months. Randolph, in the meantime, had returned to London, and was sent back to the Scotish Queen, early in October. Meanwhile, Lennox arrived at Edinburgh, on the 4th of September; and finding the Queen absent, went forward to Athol, to visit the Earl, who had been gained, by secretary Maitland: But, as soon as he heard, from St. Andrews, that the Queen had departed for Holyrood-house, he repaired thither, and was, graciously, received, on the 27th of the same month. He now presented to her Elizabeth's letter of good offices. The Scotish Queen's answer of the 28th of September is preserved, in Keith;[g] and is conceived with great elegance, and is executed with remarkable happiness, though somewhat debased, by the vulgar language of that age: "Besydis," said she, to her good cousin, "that we "intend to deal so favourabillie with him, and our said cousin,

[g] Hist. 255.

" his wyff, in all thair suitis, and caussis, resonabill, that thai " sall haif gude occasioun to acknaulege *thameselffis bund unto* " *zow*, for the benefyte thai sall receave at oure handis[h]." We shall perceive, in our progress, that Mary dealt, indeed, very favourably with the whole family of Lennox.

Randolph, soon after, set out from London, for Edinburgh, with fresh instructions, upon the stale topick of courtship, in favour of their old lover, Leicester, the proposal of whom Elizabeth now thought to have been received, by Mary, with more sharpness, than the subject, or the proposer, merited. Leicester himself was aware, as we have seen, that he had been proposed, by the malignity of Cecil, to involve the man, whom he hated, in a difficult predicament, between the two Queens: and Elizabeth, to gratify her own envy, persevered in her purpose, to embarrass, and mortify Mary. The Scotish Queen was, in no haste, however, to appoint commissioners, to treat of such foolery; and she was not very well pleased, that the English ambassador, at Paris, had made this treaty of marriage mere matter of town-talk: This was, no doubt, owing to Cecil's artifice, who wished, that Mary's courtship, by Leicester, might mortify the great personages, who had made sincere pretensions to the Scotish Queen: The whole matrimonal negotiation was, probably, instituted by Elizabeth, with the insidious design, of disappointing Mary's splendid suitors, from abroad, as well as gratifying her own spleen.

The commissioners, who were to settle this courtship, which Elizabeth meant, sincerely, assembled, at length, at Berwick, on the 19th of November: Bedford, and Randolph, on the side

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[h] Yet, Elizabeth was displeased, " that her sister received Lennox against her " liking." [Randolph to Cecil, 24th of October, in Keith, 259.] This was too much, after Elizabeth had given Lennox an introductory letter to Mary: But, of Elizabeth's captious peevishness, there was no end. Even Cecil was often out of all patience with her: and complained of the difficulty of managing her humours.

of Elizabeth, and Murray, and Maitland, on the part of Mary[i]. The English commissioners proposed inviolable amity, perpetual peace, and assured hope of succession, if the Scotish Queen would marry Leicester. For, upon this condition, *Elizabeth had promised*, to declare her, by act of Parliament, her adopted daughter, or sister, *as soon as she should be married*[k]. The Scotish commissioners maintained, that it stood not with the dignity of a Queen, who had been sought unto, by so many princes, to condescend to the marriage of a new created earl, a subject of England, *upon hope only*, without dowry; neither stood it with the Queen of England's honour, to commend such an husband to so great a princess, her kinswoman: But, it would be a most certain argument of her love, if she would permit their mistress to choose, for herself, a proper personage, at her pleasure, which would embrace peace with England, and withal assign unto her some annual pension, and confirm the title of succession, by act of Parliament. Thus ended this conference, on a very serious subject, without any fruitful issue. And thus, was Elizabeth disappointed, in her dubious purpose, of marrying the Scotish Queen to the noble, without whom she could not live; in the hope of perplexing the Queen, whom she hated: But, without obtaining her object, if such it were, she exhibited her own dissimulation to the eyes of those, who, from their situation, could not but see, that she did not mean honestly[l].

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[i] Leicester himself, as we learn, from Camden, in hopes of enjoying Queen Elizabeth, secretly, warned Bedford, by private letters, that he should not be eager, in the matter.

[k] Those last expressions evince, that no proposal, at all, was meant to be, seriously, made: For, to marry first; and to have promises, afterwards, fulfilled, was too visionary, for any girl, to accept.

[l] "After her majesty," saith Melvill, "had heard all my proceedings, in England, she enquired, whether I thought that Queen meant, as truly, inwardly, as "she appeared to do, outwardly. I answered, freely, that in my judgment, "there was neither plain dealing, nor upright meaning; but great dissimulation."

In the meantime, Mary remained, at Edinburgh, making only slight excursions, to the southward. On the 12th of November, she gave, at Holyrood-house, a great feast, as we know, from her household book. On the 25th, she returned to Edinburgh, from her excursion, where she remained throughout this, and the subsequent month, for the convenience of the important affairs, which she had now before her. Meanwhile, Lennox not only had obtained the Queen's favour; but had endeavoured, to secure the good opinion of her council. He gave to the Queen, and to most of her counsellors, jewels: The Countess of Lennox sent Murray a diamond; and Maitland was amply satisfied with gifts[m]. A Parliament was, accordingly, convened, on the 2d of December 1564. On the subsequent day, in pursuance of the established form, the Queen made a speech to Parliament; recommending the reversal of the Earl of Lennox's forfeiture. Secretary Maitland, who supplied the chancellor's place, by the Queen's command, in an eloquent oration, explained the policy of the Queen's recommendation. And, on the same day, an act was passed, for restoring Lennox to his estate, and honours[n]. The earldom of Moray was confirmed to the Queen's minister, who had obtained great objects, by illegitimate means. The attending of mass, except in the Queen's chapel, was now made punishable, with loss of goods, lands, and life[o]. The Queen was de-

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[m] Keith, 259.

[n] Keith, 267.

[o] Id. The Archbishop of St. Andrews had been imprisoned, by the same minister, in the preceding year, for attending mass, though there was no law to prevent him, and there was a law to allow him. Holinshed, 380, who speaks, indeed, of an edict, which was passed, after the Queen's return: He means an edict of the privy council, which could not repeal a thousand acts of Parliament: We now see, that the archbishop was not safe, from imprisonment, though he acted with law, while Knox was safe, when he acted against law. These circumstances form the definition of a government, violent, and illegal. The frequent disturbances, in the Queen's chapel, by mobs, frightened the Queen, and disgraced Murray's administration.

clared of perfect age, at one and twenty years, as her predecessors had been[p]. And there was granted to the wishes of the reformed clergy, an act for the security of the kirklands, which had not been confirmed, by the King, or Pope, before the year 1558, the epoch of the Scotish reformation. The proceedings of this Parliament seem to have been settled, by a sort of compromise, between the Queen, and her ministers, who had their own interest to care for.

Those various proceedings, necessarily, tended to calm some perturbations, and to raise others. The preachers were somewhat satisfied, for the moment. The restoration of Lennox, however, incited some apprehensions. Argyle returned to him what he had in his possession, which had belonged to that expatriated noble. The Queen commanded the Duke, and Lennox, to abstain, from quarrel. The Duke supposed, that Lennox was called home, for his destruction, especially, if the Queen should marry Darnley. The Queen, meantime, was not well pleased with her uncle, the Cardinal, for meddling with her marriage, more for his own convenience, than for her advantage[q]. The earldom of Angus was now confirmed to the young earl, by Lady Lennox, which was more, for her interest, than to be declared illegitimate, which was endeavoured, under Cecil's influence, with whatever design; as we know, from documents, in the Paper Office.

Worn out, with all those solicitudes, the Queen resolved to retire, from the intrigues of Edinburgh, to the quiet of the country. She remained, in her metropolis, till the 19th of January; as we learn from her household book. With only

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[p] 10 Parl. Mary, No. 87; and Sir G. Mackenzie's Observ. 170: He does not observe, however, that the doubts, which were then explained, whether the complete age of the Queen were twenty-one, or twenty-five, were cleared, with a view to the Queen's secret purpose of marrying as soon as might be.

[q] Keith 260.

a part of her train, she departed, from Edinburgh, to Fife, on the 10th of January 1564-5; as we also know, from that curious record. Randolph, about the first of February 1564-5, followed her thither; and presented to her Elizabeth's letters; desiring her answer to the propositions, which had been discussed, at Berwick. Enough had been said, and done, at Berwick, to satisfy her reasonable doubts, whether the Queen of Scots would marry Leicester, upon the inefficient terms, then made to the Scotish commissioners. But, the passion of Elizabeth, for such intrigues, was insatiable. She felt her own powers of dissimulation. And she doubted not, whatever Mary might resolve, upon this delicate point, but she could turn it to her own advantage, and her cousin's vexation: So malignant a woman was Elizabeth! Besides, Elizabeth enjoyed, from this management, a gratification, in which she delighted, through life, the wish of intermeddling with other people's affairs; especially a courtship, which gives rise to so many hopes, and fears; attended with so many elevations, and depressions; with agreements, and disagreements.

The following, then, is the Scotish Queen's answer to Queen Elizabeth's desires, as it was written by Randolph, the English agent, to the English Queen. He draws such a descriptive contour of Mary, and places it, in so many lights, as to give a new cast to her character, charming as it was. The Queen of Scots was then just turned of two and twenty; and seemed to be in good health, and spirits, animated, perhaps, with the hope of having an end, ere long, of the solicitudes, which had so long, and so fully occupied her heart. To have abridged, or abstracted, such a document, would have deprived it of its full effect, on the reader's judgement[r].

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[r] This letter was written by Randolph, from Edinburgh, on the 5th of February, 1564-5, after his return, from visiting Mary, at St. Andrews.

"May it please your majesty," said Randolph to Elizabeth: "Immediately after the receipt of your letter to this Queen, I repaired to St. Andrews. So soon as time served, I did present the same, which being read, and as appeared, in her countenance, very well liked, she said little to me, for that time. The next day, she passed, wholly, in mirth; nor gave any appearance to any of the contrary; nor would not, as she said, openly; but be quiet, and merry. Her grace lodged, in a merchant's house; her train were very few; and there was small repair, from any part. Her will was, that, for the time, that I did tarry, I should dine, and sup, with her. Your majesty was oftentimes dranken unto, by her, at dinners, and suppers. Having, in this sort, continued with her grace, Sunday, Monday, and Tuesday, I thought it time, to take occasion, to utter unto her grace, that which last I received, in command, from your Majesty, by Mr. Secretary's[s] letter, which was to know her grace's resolution, touching those matters, propounded, at Berwick, by my Lord of Bedford, and me, to my Lord of Murray, and Lord of Liddington[s]. I had no sooner spoken these words, but she saith, I see now well, that you are weary of this company, and treatment. I sent for you, to be merry, and to see how like a Bourgebis-wife, I live, with my little troop; and you will interrupt our pastime, with your great, and grave, matters. I pray you, sir, if you be weary here, return home to Edinburgh; and keep your gravity, and great embassade, until the Queen come thither; for I assure you, you shall not get her here, nor I know not myself, where she is become; You see neither cloth of estate, nor such appearance, that you may think, that there is a Queen here; nor, I would not, that you should think, that I am she, at St. Andrews, that I was, at Edinburgh. I said, that I was very sorry for that, for that at Edinburgh, she said, that she did love my mistress, the Queen's majesty, better than any other, and now I marvelled how her mind was altered: It pleased her, at this, to be very merry, and called me, by more names, than were given me, in my christendom. At these merry conceits, much good sport was made: But, well, sir, saith she, that which then I spoke in words shall be confirmed to my good sister, your mistress, in writing. Before you go out of this town, you shall have a letter unto her, and for yourself, go where you will, I care no more for you. The next day, I was willed to be at my ordinary table, and being placed the next person, saving (worthy Beton[t]) to the Queen's self. Very merrily she passeth her time. After dinner, she rideth abroad. It pleased her, the most part of the time, to talk with me. She had occasion to speak much of France, for the honour she received there, to be wife unto a great king, and for friendship, shewn unto her, in particular, by many, for which occasions, she is bound, to love the nation; to shew them pleasure; and to do them good. Her acquaintance is not so forgotten there; nor her friendship

[s] Secretary Maitland.

[t] Mary Betoun, who, from her infancy, had been a maid of honour.

so little esteemed, but yet it is divers ways sought, to be continued. She hath of her people many well affected, that way, for the nourriteur, that they have had, there, and the commodity of service, as those of the guard, and men at arms, besides privileges great, for the merchants, more than ever were granted to any nation. What privately, of long time, hath been sought, and yet is, for myself, to yield unto, their desires in my marriage; your majesty cannot be ignorant, and you have heard: To have such friends, and to see such offers, without assurance of as good, nobody will give me advice, that loveth me. Not to marry, you know, it cannot be, for me. To deffer it long, many incommodities ensue. How privy to my mind, your mistress hath been herein; you know how willing I am, to follow her advice; I have shewn many times; and yet can I find in her no resolution, nor determination. For nothing, I cannot be bound unto her; and to France, my will against hers, I have of late given assurance to my brother of Murray, and Liddington, that I am loath, and so do now shew unto yourself, which I will you to bear in mind, and to let it be known to my sister, your mistress: and, therefore, this I say, and trust me I mean it, if your mistress will, as she hath said, use me, as her natural born sister, or daughter, I will take myself either as one, or the other, as she please, and will shew no less readiness to oblige her, and honour her, than my mother, or eldest sister; but, if she will repute me always but as her neighbour Queen of Scots; how willing soever I be to live, in amity, and to maintain peace; yet, must she not look, for that at my hands, that otherwise I would, or she desireth. To forsake friendship offered, and present commodity, for uncertainty, no friend will advise me, nor your mistress self approve my wisdom. Let her, therefore, measure my case, as her own, and so will I be hers. For these causes, until my sister, and I, have further proceeded, I must apply my mind to the advice of those, that seem to tender most my profit, that shew their care over me, and wish me most good. I have now disclosed unto you (saith she) all my mind, and require you, to let it be known to your sovereign. My meaning unto her is plain, and so shall my dealings be. I know how well she is worthy; and so, do esteem her; and, therefore, I will thus much say more, that as there is none nearer of kin unto her, than I am; nor none more worthy, to whom I may submit myself; so is there none, to whom with better will, I desire to be beholden unto, than unto her, or to do any thing, that may be with my honour. To this long discourse of hers, I did not much reply. For her affection towards France, thus much I was bold to say, that whatsoever her grace had found herself, her country hath felt the smart. I approved, greatly, in her, those good words, she spoke of your majesty, and by many tokens, from the beginning shewed the like mind, in your grace, towards her. For those matters, that you stood upon, they were so great, that they could not soon be resolved of, and much better it were, to attend a time, than over hastily, to press at them; and rather to let them come of themselves, than to seem, to urging them out by force. When, saith she, heard you

me speak of these matters before? I said, no, of herself, but her ministers bore always her mind, and in their words, uttered that, which she would. I gave unto them, charge, saith she, to consider what is fittest for me, and I find them all together bent towards you, and yet not so, but, I believe, they will advise me, for the best. But, so your mistress may me, that I will leave their advices, and all others, and follow her's alone. I liked so well these words, that I wished it might so be, which I trusted, should be much to both their contentments and weal of your realms. Remember, said she, what I have said, this mind, that now I am of, cometh not upon the sudden, it is more than a day, or two, that I have had this thought, and more than this too, that you shall not know. I desired her grace not to cut off her talk there, it was so good, so wise, so well framed, and so comfortable unto me, as nothing could be more so, than to hear that mind, in her, towards your majesty. I am a fool, saith she, thus long to talk with you; you are too subtle, for me, to deal with. I protested upon my honesty, that my meaning was only to nourish a perpetual amity, between your majesty, and her, which could not be done, but by honest means. How much better were it, saith she, that we two being Queens, so near of kin, neighbours, and being in one isle, should be friends, and live together, like sisters, than, by strange means, divide ourselves to the hurt of us both: and, to say, that we may for all that live friends, we may say, and prove, what we will, but it will pass both our powers. You repute us poor; but, yet you have found us cumbersome enough. We have had loss, ye have taken scathe. Why may it not be between my sister, and me, that we living in peace, and assured friendship, may give our minds, that some as notable things may be wrought, by us, women, as by our predecessors have been done before. Let us seek this honour against some other, than fall to debate amongst ourselves. I asked here, her grace, whether she would be content, one day, whenever it were, to give her assistance, for the recovery of Calais? At this question, she laughed; and said many things must pass, between my good sister, and me, before I can give you answer; but, I believe to see the day, that all our quarrels should be one, and assure you, if we be not, the fault shall not be in me.

"Your majesty hath heard the effect of much long talk, that passed, between this Queen, and me, not so well answered, in every point, by me, as it was spoken by her. I commended her good mind, her desire, and opinion, of your majesty, and in this matter, so, ended with her, that no small matter shall make her think otherwise than well, that nothing should make her over hasty, in her determination, either to enter, in league, with any, or to match herself, in marriage, further than either drift of time should be found, in your majesty, or hasty request of her subjects, or necessity, to provide for her estate, did press her. I requested her grace, humbly, that forasmuch as I had moved her majesty by your highnesses commandment to let her mind be known, how well she liked of the suit of my Lord Robert, Earl of Leicester, that I might be able somewhat to say, or write,

touching that matter unto your majesty. My mind, towards him, is such, as it ought to be of a very noble man, as I hear say, by very many. And such one, as the Queen, your mistress, my good sister, doth so well like, to be her husband, if he were not her subject, ought not to mislike me, to be mine. Marry, what I shall do, it lieth in your mistress's will, who shall wholly guide me, and rule me. I made myself not well to understand those words, because I would have the better hold of them. She repeated the self same words again; and I shewed myself fully contented with her speech; desired that I might hastily return to your majesty, whilst they were fresh in memory. My mind is not, that you shall so hastily depart. At Edinburgh, we may commune further; there shall be nothing forgotten, or called back, that hath been said. I have received, said she, a very loving letter, from my good sister, and this night, or to morrow, will write another, which you must send away. I offered all kind of service, that lied, in my power, reserving the duty to your majesty. I made a general rehersal, after, of this whole conference, to my Lord of Murray, and Lord of Leddington; they were very glad, that I had heard so much spoken of herself, whereby they might be encouraged, to proceed further; but, without that principal point, whereupon your majesty is to resolve, saith they, neither dare, earnestly, press her, nor yet of themselves are willing, for that, in honour, otherwise they see not how she can accord to your majesty's advice, nor so to bend herself unto you, as they are sure she will; and therein offer their service to your majesty, to the uttermost of their powers. The Lord of Liddington doubteth, that your majesty hath conceived some evil opinion of him. I do assure him, to the contrary, and find his dealing, hitherto, honest. Your majesty hath heard, at this time, and also at others, by such letters as are come to your highness's hands, as near as I can, the true report of all such words, as I have heard spoken, either by this Queen, or those, in chief credit about her, in such matters, as it did please your majesty, to give me charge, to intreat of. The judgment of them all belongeth unto your majesty. It is sufficient, for me, to obey your *will*: But how hard it is for one man, alone, to deal with many, your majesty knoweth; what they are, with whom I have to do, your majesty is not ignorant, wise, discreet, circumspect, and men, that leave nothing unsought, that may serve to their advantage. With these, therefore, and like, I am in continual fear to deal, less through my great lack, and mean judgment, in all cases, inspecial of such importance, some thing might so fall out, that might hinder so good a purpose, so great a good, as to have your majesty's realm united with this, and this Queen, to be wholly at your majesty's devotion. I do, therefore, most humbly crave of your majesty, that before this matter do suddenly break off, as now it is in doubt, what answer will be given, touching the conference had at Berwick, and all those, that favour your majesty's interest, in great suspense, what will become, if all matters be not thoroughly resolved upon, that it will please your majesty, to send some such one hither, the best in judgment, and experience, of that great number, your

majesty hath to entreat on this mater, to see to what issue it may be brought; being now in my simple judgment, in some good towardness, and not far from that point, your majesty would have it at. If your majesty's pleasure be otherwise, would God, that I were so happy, that I had some witness of those words, that I have heard of this Queen's mouth, what she hath spoken of your majesty, and how much she offereth, to be at your majesty's will, which often time, she speaketh, and calleth God to witness of her true meaning.'

SECTION VI.

From the Arrival of Darnley, till the Assassination of Rizzio.

WE have recently seen the serious fooleries of a feigned courtship; we have perceived a Queen offering in marriage to a rival Queen her own paramour, without whom, she could not live; we have beheld that lover intriguing, for his own disappointment, from an apprehension of displeasing both. Such negotiations could only have been adopted, much less persevered in, during the reign of Elizabeth, whose propensities, notwithstanding her vigour, and wisdom, proceeded the full length of folly, not to say frenzy.

We shall, immediately, perceive a courtship of a different kind; because it was real, and sincere; and was prosecuted to a successful end, in the face of many difficulties, and persevered in, through the usual dangers of civil war. The many favours, which were done to Lennox, portended, in the opinion of wise men, much greater kindnesses to his son Darnley. Cecil received intimations to this effect; and similar conceptions occurred to the sagacity of Elizabeth. Lady Lennox's request to both, that permission might be granted her son, to visit his father, in Scotland, was, without much difficulty, granted to Darnley; because that Queen, and her minister, trusting to their own talents, for address, and action, they could easily interpose disappointment, the moment, that Mary should agree to accept his hand: With all their sagacity, they were imposed upon, by the artful blandishments of the

Scotish Queen, who under gentleness, and facility, and playfulness, concealed acuteness of understanding, sincerity of purpose, a spirit to oppose difficulties, and a resolution to surmount danger. Darnley, having Elizabeth's letters of good offices in his pocket, set out to post, on horseback, from London, to Edinburgh, during the depth of winter, which is recorded, in history, as remarkably severe, buoyed up, as he was, by hope, and pushed forward, by prescience of success.

Darnley was, probably, born, in 1546; and was of course four years younger than Mary: He was, however, remarkably *tall* of his years; as Mary, like her mother, was of the largest size of women. His good reception in Scotland was ensured, not only, by the letters of Elizabeth, but by the blandishments of Lady Lennox, his mother. She sent to the Queen, her niece, a ring with a fair diamond, a diamond to Lord Murray, a watch, set with rubies, and diamonds; to Secretary Maitland, a ring with a ruby to Robert Melvill, the brother of the envoy: and Lady Lennox, who was a discreet matron, and Throkmorton, who was a wise man, sent many good advices to the Queen, to be followed, as occasion might offer[u].

The Scotish Queen remained, meantime, in her quiet retirement, at St. Andrews, where Randolph had left her, about the 3d of February, 1564-5. But, she left it on the 11th, and advanced to Lundy, on the 12th, being the same day, on which Darnley came, from Dunbar, to Hadington. On the 13th she rode to Weemys-castle, which was then inhabited, by Murray, being the same day, whereon Darnley arrived, from Hadington, at Edinburgh.

After waiting three days at Edinburgh, and hearing from his father, that it was his first duty to wait upon the Queen, he crossed the Forth into Fife; and went to Weemys-castle, on the 16th[v]. He was well received, by the Queen, and lodged

[u] Melvill's Mem. 52.

[v] Cecil's Diary, from Randolph's letters.

in the same castle; as Murray supposed, that Darnley's journey, into Scotland, had been made, with Elizabeth's approbation. The writers of Scotland would have us believe, that Mary fell, desperately, in love with Darnley, at first sight: and they would have us think, that the widowed Queen, who knew the world, and had seen the most accomplished gentlemen, in Europe, was a boarding school miss, who had never till now seen a man. Robertson, one of the best of those historians, imagines Mary to have been captivated by his *gigantic figure:* Yet, let us recollect, that Darnley was, merely, *a long lad* of *nineteen.* Sir James Melvill, who was present, in Weemys-castle, however, informs us, "that the Queen *took* "*very well with him;* and said to Melvill, on the same day, "that Darnley was the properest, and best proportioned *long* "*man,* that ever she had seen[w]." Here, then, was one of the first steps of this famous courtship accomplished. The Queen knew his pretensions before she left France, from Lady Lennox's letters: And, after her return, amidst those recent intrigues, she had revolved, in her mind, the whole difficulties of such a courtship, and the many consequences of such a marriage. But, the historians were ignorant of Lady Lennox's intrigues:[x] Every eye was now turned towards Darnley; as his defects were *not yet seen.* After some days, Darnley left Weemys-castle. The Queen, also, set out, for Edinburgh; and journeying, by Balmuto, where she made some stay, by the Queen's Ferry, where she crossed the Forth, arrived, at Holyrood-house, on the 24th of February, 1564-5[y].

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[w] Mem. 56.

[x] The documents, in the Paper Office, evince the fact, and as those intrigues did not escape Secretary Cecil's vigilance, Lady Lennox was sent into ward, for condoling with her niece, and setting forth her son's merits. The Turkish government could not have gone beyond this oppression.

[y] Household-book. In fact, the Queen, had been hastened home by the re-

While Elizabeth's breath fanned Darnley's sails, his bark glided along, with the wind, and tide. He found, of course, no difficulty, in his journey, from Weemys-castle to Dunkeld, where he saw his father; and whence he hastened to Edinburgh, where he arrived, before the Queen.

In the meantime, Lennox wrote his acknowledgements to Elizabeth, for all her goodnesses, which had enabled him, to settle his affairs, in Scotland; and for her late favour, in writing; the Scotish Queen, about his son, and giving him leave, on this occasion, to visit him, in the land of his fathers. Lady Lennox had also acted, like a wise matron, in gaining some strenuous friends, and mollifying some powerful opponents[z]. After sermon, and supper, on the 26th of February, said Randolph to Cecil, at the Lord Murray's, and Darnley had seen the Queen, and divers ladies dance, he being required, by my Lord of Murray, *danced a galliard with the Queen*, who, for all the cold, and storms, came home, at the end of five weeks, lustier, than when she went forth[a].

After Darnley had haunted the court, for some time, he made the Queen a proposal of marriage, which, at first, she pretended to disrelish; and even refused a ring, which he had offered her[b]. She began to suspect, however, as we learn from

peated outrages, in her chapel of Holyrood-house, by the zealots of Edinburgh, who would not allow to their sovereign that freedom of worship, which she had granted to them: Neither was she protected, by her own ministers, from such violences.

[z] She released to the Earl of Angus all her claims on his father's estates; and the Queen, in November 1564, seconding her endeavours, granted a charter of confirmation of that release: So that the Douglases received a great boon, from the prudent liberalities of the Countess, and Queen.

[a] Randolph to Cecil, in the Paper Office, 27th of February, 1564-5.

[b] Such, then, was the fact, as we have it, from Melvil, who was then at court, and who seems to have been honoured with the Queen's confidence. Mem. 56. Before it was known, at Edinburgh, that Elizabeth had changed her mind, in letting Darnley quit England, he pleased the people of Edinburgh very well; as he seemed to be good natured, and easy in his behaviour.

Camden, that she had been deceitfully used; and that Elizabeth had only proposed the marriage with Leicester, to no other purpose; than to choose the best of all the suitors, for herself[c]. The Scottish Queen, perhaps, as early as the 17th of March, seems to have secretly, fixed her affections on Darnley, as the fittest husband; considering his whole pretensions; and she some time after sent secretary Maitland to communicate her purpose to her good sister, and to beg her acquiescence[d]. But, before Maitland could reach London, Elizabeth had become quite aware of Mary's sentiments[e]. From her return, on the 24th of February, from Fife, she remained, at Edinburgh, till the 26th of March, that she removed to Linlithgow; where she continued till she went, on the 31st, to Stirling. The nobles of Scotland began, meantime, to associate with each other, for supporting their several interests, and parties[f]: a sure sign of troubles, and a prognostication of warfare.

The Queen seems now to have taken up her residence, at Stirling castle; making short excursions, and frequent returns. On the 7th of April, Murray left the court, where he could not well remain, after entering into such an association, on the

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[c] As low down, as the 5th of March 1564-5, Elizabeth continued her insidious intrigues about Leicester; and Randolph said to Cecil, on the 5th of March: "That the Scotish Queen was offended; and used evil speech of her Majesty of "England; alleging she abused her, and made her spend time." Keith's App. 158. Yet, Elizabeth persevered, in her vexatious intrigues. Id.

[d] Keith, 270. On the 20th of March, however, Randolph wrote to Cecil, that Darnley was much favoured, by the Queen: yet, did not think any marriage likely. Keith's App. 159.

[e] He arrived at Westminster, on the 18th of April 1565. Keith's App. 159.

[f] On the 15th of March, the Duke, Murray, and Argyle, associated against all, except God, and their Sovereign: This was pointed against Lennox, and Darnley, positively, and against the Queen, virtually.

On the 20th of March, Lennox entered into a similar association with Athol, Cathness, Lord Ruthvin, and such like. The Queen, at the same time, protested, that she would be at liberty, in religion, and that all persons should live, and worship, as they would. *The L.*

15th of March, which, plainly, led on to civil war. Darnley, following the Queen to Stirling, was taken with the measles, which hung about him till the 30th; when the Queen's solicitude, about his health, was observed by malignant eyes[g].

I had the honour, said Randolph to Cecil, to play a party at a game, called *the Biles:* "my mistress Beton [Mary Be-" ton, the maid of honour] and I, against the Queen and my "Lord Darnley, the women to have the winnings; Beton, and "I, having the latter, Lord Darnley paid the loss; and gave "Beton a ring, and a broche, with two watches, worth fifty "crowns." Hereupon, he adds, dependeth a tale, that requires more time, than I can now command. On that obscure intimation, the state papers give no light: And what the calumnious Randolph had not time to tell, cannot now be told.

Secretary Cecil continued, meantime, to watch the successive movements of the Queen, and Darnley, in order to perceive the very moment, in which the growing affections of Mary should settle on their proper object: and, on the 15th of April, he cried out, Now is it, plainly, discovered, that the Queen will have Lord Darnley[h]! The wind now shifted: And Darnley's bark, which had of late sailed, with favourable gales, and lucky currents, ran aground on some shoal, or some sand, at every tack. Elizabeth declared, with her usual duplicity, that she had never contemplated such a purpose, though she knew, that Lady Lennox had opened a treaty, for her son, before Mary left France; though she perceived Lady Lennox's object, in soliciting passports, for her son, to carry him into Scotland; though she had given

[g] Both Bedford, and Randolph wrote to Cecil of Darnley's illness; and of the Queen's *marvellous care of him.* Letters in the Paper Office.

[h] Cecil's Diary.—Murdin, 758: On the same day, Secretary Maitland arrived at Berwick, on his way to London, for the purpose of explaining his mistress's intentions. Maitland arrived, at Westminster, on the 18th of April: and, his business, said Cecil, was to ask the Queen's consent to the Scotish Queen's marriage with Lord Darnley.

Darnley letters of good offices to the Scotish Queen, in the hope that his presence would entangle her passions of hope, and of apprehension[i]. Elizabeth's privy counsellors gave it as their solemn advice, that such a marriage would be the ruin of England; that it tended to conjoin claims to the crown; that it might probably produce heirs, to a kingdom, which wanted none, while the wisdom of wise Elizabeth consisted, in casting such a mist on the succession, as to involve it in a darksome cloud[k]. And, Cecil, with his usual facility, drew up a memorial, to prove, that the fittest marriage, for the Scotish Queen, was unfit, if any marriage were fit[l]. Every measure was now adopted, to perplex, and oppose the Scotish Queen's wishes, except actual war; but, a rebellion was incited, in Scotland, by Cecil's artifices, and Elizabeth's money: She did not draw her sword, indeed; because France, and Spain, would have drawn theirs. Letters of recal were sent, from Elizabeth, to Lennox, and Darnley: But, as if they had been sent too soon, for the occasion, they were recalled; and again repeated; so fluctuating were the spirits of Elizabeth, who wished to harass a hated object; yet, doubted her means. Towards the end of April, the experienced Throkmorton was sent to Scotland, with Maitland, to traverse Mary's purpose[m].

As early as the Queen's departure, from Edinburgh, towards the end of March 1564-5, the court, and country, had become full of heart-burning, and suspicious doubts, if we may believe Randolph's exaggerations. The Queen had been so much goaded, by foreign powers, as well as by domestic parties, that she assumed more independence of thought and of action, without overbearing others. The Duke supposed himself to

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[i] Keith, 276-7. [k] Keith, 274: May 1st. 1565. [l] Murdin, 758.

[m] He was instructed, to oppose Darnley's marriage; to propose to the Queen, to marry with Leicester, or some other in England; and if the marriage be concluded on, then to shew how much it grieved the Queen's majesty. Throkmorton carried his intrigues to the full length of sedition, if not of treason.

be quite undone, if the Queen should marry Darnley, and courted Elizabeth's protection. Darnley no longer danced galliards, with the Queen, at Murray's house: He had said, unguardedly, that Murray had got too many lands, by recent management: And the Queen hearing of this, desired him to apologize to Murray, who never forgave him. Lord Robert, the Queen's illegitimate brother, who was the adviser of Darnley, had led him into that imprudence, and Lennox endeavoured to support him, with associations of persons of consequence, who were, of course, described, by Randolph, "as "enemies to all virtue[n]."

In the mean time, the treaty with Darnley held its course, accelerated, perhaps, rather than retarded, by his several illnesses; of the measles first, and of the ague, afterwards. The Queen, being resolute, not only communicated her purpose to Elizabeth, but to the queen mother of France, and also to the Pope, whose dispensation she solicited, as she, and Darnley, were first cousins. It was known to well informed persons, in Scotland, as early as the 15th of April, two months after his arrival, that she intended to marry Darnley. Randolph, and those, who thought with him, gave it as their opinions, that this marriage would effect the ruin of Scotland. Nothing is more frequent, than for men to allow their minds to dwell on particular topicks, till speculations swell into certainties. If the Queen's marriage were allowed to be, for the interest of the two kingdoms, and experience evinced, that it was, there could not be a properer person than Darnley, whatever folly might fear, or wisdom portend. In the midst of those speculations, and fears, Argyle, and Murray, came to Edinburgh, on the 1st of May, at the head of 5,000 horsemen; to hold a law-day against Bothwell, who could not bring fifty, and who did not appear. The Queen considered so great an armament, for such an object,

[n] Keith, 271-74.

to be more intended to overawe herself, than to frighten Bothwell: she commanded the justice clerk, to adjourn the law-day, and signified her dissatisfaction to Murray°.

The Queen remained quietly at Stirling, but firm in her purpose. The Queen sent for Murray; and treating him with her usual kindness, she shewed him a writing, purporting to be the assent of the nobles, to her marriage with Darnley; and asked him to sign it, as an example to others. He desired time to consider of such a proposition; She pressed him, with the observation, that he had time enough to regard it, in all its views; and others of less influence would follow him. He now said, that it would not do her honour, to hasten so much a matter of such importance: And, besides, he misliked this match; because he doubted, that Darnley would be an enemy to the true religion: Hereupon, in some displeasure, he departed, from the Queen. Other nobles were sent for to Stirling, soon after: On the 12th of May, thirteen of the nobles had signed the declaration of assent to the Queen's marriage: The Duke signed it, on a promise of assurance of his estates. The Earl of Morton, and the lord justice clerk, were great promoters of it. Murray would not consent; and Argyle came not to court. Meanwhile, she dispatched a messenger to Maitland, wherever he might be, to desire, that he would repair to Elizabeth, and inform her, explicitly, "that seeing she had "been so long kept in suspense, by her Majesty, she had de-"termined, with the advice of her estates, to use her own "choice, in her marriage:" But, though he received this command, at Newark, he chose to continue his journey, into Scotland, with Throkmorton. The Queen pressed forward her several measures of preparation, before the arrival of those intriguers, who were expected, from England.

Throkmorton arrived, on the 11th, at Berwick; and, on the

° Keith, App. 160.

morrow, came to Dunbar, where hearing of the forwardness of the Queen's measures, and of the preliminary honours, which she intended to confer, immediately, on Darnley, he hastened to Edinburgh, on the 13th. After learning all the informations, which Randolph possessed, Throkmorton went on to Linlithgow, on the 14th; and arrived, in the morning, at the gates of Stirling castle, wherein the Queen, and her nobles, were sitting, in convention, on her marriage. Throkmorton, according to his own account, seemed to think, that he was entitled to an immediate audience, as if he had come, from a sovereign, who had a right to dictate. He was desired, to repose himself, in the lodging, which had been provided for him, and the Queen would see him, as soon as convenient. At two o'clock, the lords Erskine, and Ruthven, went to conduct him, to an audience of the Queen. He found the Queen surrounded, by her principal nobles; when he opened his remonstrances against her marriage, in the same tone of dictation. The Queen heard him patiently; denied, that there had been any precipitancy, or rashness; and wished, that her good sister had been a little more vivacious as well as open, in soliciting, for a suitor, which she, and the world, suspected could not be successful; that she had communicated the matter to her good sister, as soon as she had resolved on the matter, and the manner; that she had made no other promise, though she had treated her good cousin's recommendations, with the greatest respect. Some altercation now ensued: and Throkmorton informed his mistress, that "the Queen is so far passed, in this matter, with Lord Darn-"ley, as it is not revocable, and no place is left to dissolve the "same, by persuasion, or any reasonable means, *otherwise than* "*by violence*[p]." Elizabeth, whose dissimulation was seen, by the world, and felt, by Mary, may have been disquieted, when she saw her intentions frustrated, and some inconvenience may

[p] Keith, 277-8.

have been felt: But does disquiet, and inconvenience, when no injury is committed, justify warfare, and violence? On the same day, Darnley was made a knight, Lord of Ardmannah, and Earl of Ross[q]. The Duke, Argyle, Murray, and Glencairn, immediately, retired to their own houses, for a time; in order to enter into the dangerous concerts of civil war.

As Darnley had no proper establishments of officers about him, the Queen directed Rizzio, her private secretary for the French language, to attend upon him. We might even infer, from the Treasurer's books, that Rizzio was entrusted to receive, and to pay money, for Darnley. Rizzio was plainly a diligent, and faithful servant, both to the Queen, and Darnley[r]: And, because he was an honest man, he was maligned, by the English faction, and Murray's followers: Randolph said to Cecil, *David* [Rizzio] now worketh all, and is only governor to the King: The hatred towards Darnley, and his family, is great, great is his pride, and words intollerable: People have small joy in this new master, and find nothing, but that God must either send him a short end, or them a miserable life: And Randolph went on, with a prognostication, which could have been only made, at the eve of civil war; "the dangers to "those, Darnley now hatheth, are great; and either he must "be taken away, or they find some support, that what he in-"tendeth to others, may light upon himself[s]." The Queen's envoy, Hay, arrived, in Westminter, on the 22d of May: and, on the same day, Lady Lennox, on the true Turkish principle, was committed to the Tower. The French King did honour to

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[q] Ib. 278-81. The Queen, at the same time, sent her master of requests, John Hay, to explain to Elizabeth the Scotish Queen's meaning, and intentions.

[r] On the 21st of May, Randolph wrote to Cecil, how the Lord Darnley offered to strike the justice clerk, with his dagger; because he brought him word, that the creation of him, as Duke of Albany, had been postponed. Keith, App. 160. There may be some exaggeration in this; yet, Darnley's temper was hasty, and his spirit unmanaged.

[s] Keith, 282-3.

himself, by writing to Elizabeth, in favour of Lord Darnley, and to release his mother[t]. Throughout the month of May, wherein the Queen was so busy, in adjusting, and securing her marriage, against foreign intrigues, and domestic faction, the Queen remained, at Stirling; making only short excursions to Alloa, to Sauchie, and to other seats, in the neighbourhood[v]. On the 2d of June she departed, from Stirling, with Darnley, and her usual train, and slept at Inverpeffry, on the Earn, on her way to Perth, where she arrived, on the subsequent day; and where she intended to hold a convention, for approving her marriage. She remained, at Perth, throughout the month of June, making her most frequent visits to the Earl of Athol, at Dunkeld, and to Lord Ruthven, at Ruthven castle.

We have already seen how many preparations had been made, by Elizabeth, and by Murray, "to let slip the dogs of "foreign, and of civil war." As early as the 8th of June, Elizabeth wrote to Randolph, that she would support Murray, in his opposition to Mary's marriage: On the 13th of June, she repeated her assurances of protection to those, who should oppose Darnley's purpose. These assurances were communicated, by Randolph, to those, who were to be incited, by them, to revolt against their sovereign[u]. About the last of June, Murray, and his coadjutors, asked Randolph, whether, if any should deliver Lennox, and Darnley, in Berwick, they would be received: This question, which pointed, clearly, to the arrest of Lennox, and his son, for the purpose of being delivered to Elizabeth's officers, in Berwick, Randolph answered, that they would receive *their own*, in whatsoever manner, they might be brought[x]. The Duke, Argyle, and Murray, concurred, according to Randolph, in the desire of saving the country, by civil war, in which they will be joined, by many others. Such were some of the topicks, which insurgents will always find, that were urged, by

[t] Keith, App. 161. [v] Household book. [u] Keith, 289. [x] Ib. 285.

Murray, and Randolph, for the revolt, which was thus meditated against the Scotish Queen, encouraged, as they were, by her good sister of England. Here is the outline of the plot, which was to end, by the imprisonment of the Queen, in Lochleven castle, and the consignment of Lennox, and Darnley, to the gaol of Berwick. The Queen's movements, and intentions, were communicated to the conspirators, by secretary Maitland. It was thus known, that the Queen, and suite, would remain, at Perth, and its neighbourhood, till about the end of June, when she intended to be present, at the baptism of Lord Livingston's child, at Callender. The conspirators laid this plan, for intercepting her, with Lennox and Darnley, at the Kirk of Beith: Murray placed himself, in his mother's house of Lochleven, near Kinross; Argyle remained at Castle Campbell, ten miles higher up, in the country; Lord Rothes, with his followers, took post at the Parrot well; and the Duke lay, at his house of Kinnaal, at no great distance, from the Queen's Ferry. This plan was so well laid, that, in the opinion of the acutest statesmen, it could not well fail[x]. But what are the hopes of men! On the Queen's return to Perth, from Dunkeld, she received some intimation of Murray's purpose: She now felt, that Perth was no more a place of safety for her: And she directed the Earl of Athol, and Lord Ruthven, with their followers, to convey her, on the morrow, to Callender. She mounted her horse, at five in the morning, and rode, with great speed, towards the Queen's Ferry, accompanied, by three women, and three hundred horsemen; passing through Kinross, which is adjacent to Lochleven, before Murray had any

[x] Secretary Cecil was so impressed with that opinion, that he entered, in his Diary of the 7th of July, 1565, "A rumour spread, that the Queen of Scots should "have been taken, by the Lords, Argyle, and Murray." Murdin, 759. On the 26th of June 1565, the Queen was at Ruthven; but went, in the evening, to Dunkeld. Here, she remained, on the 27th, 28th, and 29th. On the 30th she dined at Dunkeld, and slept, at Perth.

suspicion of her advance, crossed the Queen's Ferry, and went to Callender, Lord Livingston's house. The Queen, and Darnley, thus eluded, by address, and activity, every ambuscade, which traitorous artifices had laid for their interruption, and imprisonment[y]. In the evening of the 4th of July, the Queen went from Callender to Edinburgh. In concert with this conspiracy of Murray, there was an ecclesiastical meeting, at Edinburgh, under the influence of that conspirator; and the Earl of Glencairn came to town, to concert an insurrection of enthusiasts, in the Queen's park, at St. Leonard's Craig, where they proceeded the length of choosing their officers: But, the Queen's unexpected appearance, in her metropolis, dissipated this ebullition of fanaticism[z].

The Queen's escape, from the various snares that had been laid for her, equally disappointed Elizabeth and Cecil, who

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[y] There is a very minute account of the Queen's escape, in Randolph's letter to Cecil, 4th July 1565: He talks of a false rumour spread, that Argyle, and Murray, had assembled a power to take the Queen, and Lord Darnley; when, indeed, Lord Murray was sick, at Lochleven, and Argyle quiet at Castle Campbell. He forgot, that the Earl of Rothes, was posted, with his armed followers, at the Parrot well. Randolph's previous letters had shown to Cecil the several steps, that had led on to that treasonous enterprize. The convention of nobles, and prelates, who assembled at Dunbarton, in September 1568, assert the reality of that conspiracy, as a fact, which was known to several of them. [Goodall ii. 350.] Murray had furnished Lochleven castle, with artillery, and ammunition, on purpose. [Privy Council Reg. 7th and 13th Nov. 1565.] The Earl of Rothes, and some of Murray's principal officers, were prosecuted, for their treasonable conduct, on that occasion. [Ib. 2. Aug. 1565: Pitscottie 216.] Yet, was Robertson so weak, as to suppose, that there had been a conspiracy of Darnley against Murray. What is this but the conspiracy of Huntley against Murray, once more repeated, by Murray's partizans? There is every possible evidence of a conspiracy of Murray against the Queen, and Darnley; but, not the least evidence of a plot, by Darnley, against Murray. The previous engagements, and amusements, of the Queen, and Darnley, at Perth, at Ruthven, and at Dunkeld, preclude such conceipts of a plot, by Darnley, against Murray, which was a project too dangerous, for Darnley, in such circumstances of an expected marriage. [z] Keith, 293—97; Spottiswoode, 190.

were accessories to this conspiracy, the Duke, and Murray, Knox and his disciples, who were too strenuous, however, to be easily pushed aside, from their traitorous designs, on Mary's sceptre, and Darnley's life. The conspirators persevered, in their criminal pursuits. Relying on Elizabeth's promises, and Cecil's protection, Murray, Argyle, and Boyd, on the 1st of July 1565, retired into Lochleven castle, to deliberate on their ulterior measures: They resolved to take arms: And they determined to solicit the aid of Elizabeth, to the extent, at least of £3000., for which she had engaged. They sent a trusty messenger to Elizabeth, to communicate their designs, and to solicit her promised aid[a]. They asked Randolph to meet them. Randolph communicated their objects, and measures, to Cecil, and Leicester[b]. He suggested to Cecil, that Bedford, the Queen's lieutenant, on the Borders, might be sent to Berwick, "to support *the lords of the religion;*" and he intimated the desires of those *religious lords*, that some of the border banditti might be let loose on Lord Home's lands, to prevent him, from assisting the Queen[c]. The attempt to convert such an insurrection against the Queen's marriage, into a religious war, was even too shocking, for Cecil. Most of Randolph's suggestions were adopted, by Elizabeth, though she could not be prevailed on, to make open war[d].

While Elizabeth thus incited a rebellion in Scotland, she

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[a] See their letter, from Lochleven castle, 1st July 1565, in Keith, 163.

[b] Ibid, 291—5.

[c] Id. Randolph, the agent of Elizabeth, in Scotland, being afterwards detected, in paying 3000 crowns to the Countess of Murray, was sent out of the country, as unworthy of his station: He had acted, for more than seven years, as an incendiary, in Scotland.

[d] Bedford arrived, at Berwick, on the 20th of July, when the garrison was augmented, and the English forces on the borders were reinforced; in order to overawe the Scotish Queen.

wrote to the Scotish Queen, with her usual duplicity, on the 10th of July; advising her, to regard her subjects with more favour; and her lords would behave, as *lovers of the religion*, and as good subjects to her[e]. Yes, but did the *Christian religion* warrant Elizabeth's dissimulation, much less the rebellious practices of the *religious lords!*

At that treasonous moment, the Scotish Queen was not inattentive to the interests of her people, or to the suggestions of her own feelings. She issued assurances under her own hand, that as she had never disturbed any of her Protestant subjects, in the exercise of their religion, so would she be careful to protect them, in the complete enjoyment of their worship, according to their own forms[f]. And she not only warned, by proclamation, all her people to attend her in warlike manner, as their duty required, but she wrote, specially, to particular persons, urging them to come to her aid[g]. The rebellious nobles thus foiled, by Mary, and encouraged by Elizabeth, met, at Stirling, on the 17th of July. They, here, entered into a traitorous engagement, which was founded on the analogous demands of the church assembly, in June; and those faithless nobles bound themselves, first, to *the Lord, their God*; secondly, to each other, for the faithful performance of their engagement: And, with consummate hypocrisy, they declared to the whole world, that they meant nothing, in all their proceedings, but *humble reverence to Almighty God*, and *faithful obedience* to *their sovereign lady*[h]. Such audacity of im-

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[e] Murdin, 729. And see Elizabeth's insidious letter; menacing her good sister, and inciting her *religious* lords, to open rebellion. Keith, 296; who says what is, indeed, sufficiently obvious, that it demonstrates the design of Elizabeth, to foment a rebellion, and to delude the noble insurgents.

[f] Keith, 298. [g] Acts of Privy Council, in Keith's App. 109—11.

[h] There is a copy of that engagement, under the name of *a bond*, in the Lansdown MSS. viii. No. 23: In this bond, they call themselves, "the earls, lords, barons, gentlemen, burgesses, and others, constant professors of God's most holy "word." What is this, but blasphemy!

pudence, the world never saw before, except in the proceedings of the same miscreants, in 1560, who called a Parliament, under a treaty, which themselves had forged, for the occasion. On the subsequent day, the Duke, Murray, and Argyle, wrote to Elizabeth, by a special messenger; humbly beseeching her to enable them "to establish the evangil, in "Scotland:" Randolph wrote, at the same time, to Cecil; requesting his assistance "*for the lords of the congregation,*" to redress religious grievances: He added, what probably had full as much efficacy, that the Scotish Queen had very little money, no credit, and few friends[i]. Such were the efforts of a profligate man, to convert an unprovoked rebellion, into a religious war.

The insurgents had promptly assembled their followers, and had even cut off the communication, between the capital and the more western districts:[k] But, their pretences of religion, when they were opposing a marriage, were not felt, by their countrymen. The Queen's marriage with Darnley was fit in itself, and beneficial to the nation. No one considered, that the presumptive title of the Duke to the throne, or that the spurious claims of Murray, ought to stand in the way of the Queen's marriage. Her whole conduct, like her predecessor, Duncan, had been so gracious, that she enjoyed the public confidence:[l] And when she summoned her barons and people,

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[i] Keith, 301. [k] Ib. 303.

[l] Robertson was so idle as to attribute the mild rule of Mary to Murray's conduct, as her minister: But, her behaviour had been personally gracious; while his administration was violent, and unwarrantable: Witness his outrageous conduct on the border; his violence against Huntley, and his family; his oppression of other nobles, such as Sutherland, and Bothwell; his impsisonment of the Archbishop of St. Andrews, and other prelates, not only without law, but against law; and his intolerance, and persecution of those, who differed from him, in modes of faith: And this is the more reprehensible, as his religion was assumed, and not felt. His whole administration was selfish, and ungracious; as we might easily learn, from Randolph's letters to Cecil.

to assemble around her, they obeyed her summons, with alacrity: So many of the nobles, and gentry, and their followers, arrived at Edinburgh, on the 19th, 20th, and 21st of July, that she found herself at the head of a force, which the rebels could not resist[m].

But, the Queen had now other objects, than the opening of the campaign against the rebellious nobles, or, perhaps, those, who advised her, were somewhat in their interests, though they remained, in the Queen's councils. On the 20th of July, she created Darnley, who was already Earl of Ross, Duke of Albany; and conferred on him all the property, and privileges, which belonged to the dukedom[n]. She had now received the approbation of the Cardinal of Lorraine, her uncle, and the dispensation of the Pope: And she was, probably, advised, by the justice clerk, Sir John Bellenden, that it might be well to have the banns of marriage, between her, and Albany, proclaimed, in the appropriate parish church[o]. On the 28th of July, the Queen issued a proclamation, directing that the Duke of Albany should be styled King, and treated, as such. On Sunday, the 29th of July, at six o'clock in the morning, the Queen and Albany were married, in the chapel of Holyrood house, by Henry Sinclair, the dean of Rastelrig, and president of the court of session: During several days, there was nothing heard at Edinburgh, but rejoicing; nothing seen

[m] Keith, 298-9, App. 106-7. The Queen, on that occasion, pardoned the Lord Gordon, and recalled Sutherland, and Bothwell.

[n] Privy Seal Reg. xxxiii.

[o] In the Buick of the Kirk of the Canagait, "the 21st July A. D. 1565: The "which day Johne Brand, mynister, presented to the Kirk ane writing—written be "the justice clerk's hand; desyring the Kirk of the Canagait, and mynister "thereof, to proclaime harie, duk of Albayne Erle of Roise on the one parte, "and Marie be the grace of God, Quene of Scottis, souerane, on the other part: "The which the Kirk ordainis the mynister to do, with invocation of the name of "God." [Edinburgh Magazine, Oct. 1817, p. 33.]. On the morrow, being Sunday, the banns of matrimony were proclaimed. Keith, App. 162.

but sports; and nothing enjoyed but banquets. On the 30th of July, another proclamation was issued; directing that the Queen's husband should be styled King, and that all public proceedings should now run, in his name, and her's, as King and Queen, of Scotland[p]. In this manner, then, was this marriage effected, in the midst of so many difficulties, in the face of so much danger: It was to this marriage, which was opposed, and maligned, by a powerful faction, in Scotland, and by the government of England, that King James owed his birth, and his succession to the crown of both those kingdoms. Thus, was the crown matrimonial placed upon the head of Darnley, though he was not aware of the meaning, or value, of what the Queen had done for him: More, he might have enjoyed, if he had been a prince of any genius, or a person of any talents: He was little more than nineteen, at the epoch of his marriage.

Randolph, in the meantime, put Lennox, and his son, in remembrance of the letters of recal, which his mistress had sent them: But, they were too wise, where they then were, to return into England, to a gaol, or to the block. And they gave him to understand that they should not comply with Elizabeth's recal: Lennox complained, at the same time, of the imprisonment of his wife: To send to the Tower a respectable countess of the blood royal, and the Queen's cousin, for the gratification of Elizabeth's whim, was sufficiently bad, in any view, wherein it can be considered: But, to send her son into Scotland, to gain the Scotish Queen's affections, and then to recal him, to mortify, and vex both, evinces a malignity of purpose, and a baseness of practice, which shows Elizabeth to be a woman, without a heart, and a sovereign, without solidity of head; and when we see her persevering week after week, and month after month, in the shocking practice of giving

[p] Keith, 306-7.

pain to others, in vexing, and perplexing all her neighbours around her, it should seem to show her intellect to be deranged, by folly, operating on perversity. Randolph was her agent, in Scotland, worthy of such a stateswoman; as he continued to intrigue against a settled measure, when all intrigues were vain, and to declaim on idle topicks, which could be heard, only, as the insidious tone of disappointed treason.

The rebellious nobles, who were unable to face the Queen, at the epoch of her marriage, retired, for a while, to their several castles. From those disjointed seats of discontent, they propagated their clamours against the Queen's measure, of declaring her husband a nominal King, as an oppression, which could not be borne, by an oppressed people, whom the rebels invited, to resist the beginning of tyranny[q]. But, such outcries of ambitious treason produced little effect among the vulgar; as the real motives of both parties, in the state, were apparent[r]. The return of Elphinston, the messenger of Murray, to the English court, early in August, gave the insurgent nobles fresh spirits; by bringing them new assurances, and a large supply[s]. The rebels were now enabled to assemble; but, not in great numbers: yet, being unable to meet the Queen's forces, they retired, about the middle of August, to the fastnesses of Argyle[t].

Meantime, Elizabeth, as she persevered in her purpose of distressing Mary, sent Tamworth, as a coadjutor to Randolph, who was sufficiently busy, and seditious. Tamworth brought

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[q] Keith, 308. [r] Knox, 380.

[s] Keith's App. 162: Knox, 380, who says, that Elphinston brought £10,000. sterling. On the 13th of August, Elphinston was charged to appear before the Privy Council to answer, for his conduct. [Privy Council Reg. of that date.] In fact, this Elphinston was a confidential agent of Murray, who employed him, when Murray became regent, in such notorious practices. [Haynes, 462.]

[t] Keith, 309-12. The rebels retired into Argyle, even before the 14th of August; as the act of Privy Council implies.

with him a captious statement of Elizabeth's objections to the marriage of the Scotish Queen, with other complaints of little moment: But, as Tamworth was not instructed, to acknowledge Darnley, as King, he was not admitted into the Queen's presence[u]. Elizabeth gained nothing, by sending such a character, as Tamworth, to Mary, who was not in himself the fittest person, to deliver a delicate message, in a delicate manner; as we learn, from Camden. This circumstance only provoked Mary, to repel, with unusual spirit, the assumption of several articles of her cousin's message; and to desire, that Elizabeth would not any more meddle with the domestic concerns of Scotland; as she had never meddled with the internal affairs of England: Yet, Mary professed a desire, to live in amity with Elizabeth, and to act towards her cousin, as one princess ought to treat another. When Tamworth departed from Edinburgh, on his return, he refused a passport, either from instruction, or from petulance, as it had been signed, by the King: And the English envoy was detained a few days, by Lord Hume, the Scotish warden of the eastern marches.[v]

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[u] Keith's App. 99—105: To Elizabeth's objection, that Mary had married Darnley, without the approbation of other princes, the Scotish Queen answered, that she had obtained the approbation of the greatest princes, in christendom; and could make the same appear, when necessary. To the charge, that Mary had allured Lennox, and Darnley, into Scotland; and detained them there, without license; the Scotish Queen answered, by expressing her surprise, that her good cousin should speak thus of her husband, and his father, *who was an earl of Scotland,* and acknowledged, as such, by her; and who had both been recommended to her, by her good cousin: Mary seems thus to have had the better of the argument, in this captious altercation, with her rival Queen. On the 7th of August, Tamworth, and Randolph wrote to Cecil; urging him to assist the *Godly* lords, who were likely to be overpowered. On the 16th of August, Tamworth wrote to Cecil, that Mary had insisted with Randolph, to promise on his honour, not to meddle with her rebels, or she would place a guard upon his house. Secretary Maitland urged Randolph to withdraw to Berwick: But, he refused to comply, that he might be sent out of the country, under a guard. [Ib. App. 164.] Keith, 311.

While Tamworth was thus occupied, at Edinburgh; and it was supposed, by Cecil, from the delusive letters of Randolph, that the rebels would, sufficiently, occupy Mary, Elizabeth sent orders to her lieutenant, at Berwick, to commit open hostility, by seizing Aymouth[w]. Those measures of hostility were only prevented, by the difficulty of the measure, owing to his weakness; and before she could reinforce Bedford, she learnt, with chagrin, that the Scotish rebels were unable to face their sovereign: Thus, was Elizabeth obliged to retrace her steps; to recal her order for war; and to listen, with some patience, to the just remonstrances of the Scotish Queen.

In the meantime, the rebellious nobles, with Murray, at their head, had a meeting at Ayr, on the 15th of August: They now resolved, to be prepared with their forces, on the 24th, when they would begin to act. And they were, meanwhile, joined, by the Earl of Glencairn,[x] a traitor, by habit; and by Wishart of Pitarrow, the partizan of Murray, and *the comptroller of the Queen's house*[y]. Sir John Maxwell, the Queen's warden of the western marches, who had been gained, by Randolph, favoured the rebels, and joined them, in Dumfriesshire, where he had the chief command. There still con-

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[w] Keith, 164.

[x] Glencairn had already expressed his antipathy to Darnley, on his first arrival, from religious scruples. He declined the overtures of Lennox to join, in supporting him, and his son. And Glencairn, had completely engaged himself to his old associates of fanatical insurgency, before the 3d of May 1565. [Randolph's letter to Cecil, 3d May.] Glencairn assisted Argyle, in managing the seditious measures of the ecclesiastical meetings, at Edinburgh, about the end of June. Yet, he came to the marriage, on the 29th July; and served Darnley, at the entertainment, on that occasion. Glencairn was present, in council, on the 1st of August. And, he soon after joined the rebels, as we have seen above.

[y] Wishart owed his office to his attachment to Murray; he remained about the Queen, during the previous steps to open warfare; and he attended the privy councils, in order to betray the secrets to Murray, till he joined his guilty patron, at Ayr; as we have seen above.

tinued, in the Queen's councils, other persons of still greater importance, who favoured Murray, and betrayed their sovereign; such as Morton, the chancellor, and Maitland, the secretary, as we know, from Randolph's correspondence; and also John, Lord Erskine, Murray's uncle, who had recently obtained, from the Queen's bounty, the earldom of Mar. The partizans of Murray, thus, pervaded every place, in the court, and in the country.

The Queen, and Darnley, who were, in this manner, surrounded, by so many traitors, resolved, however, to follow the rebellious nobles, into the west, where they most harboured. On the 22d of August, they required, by proclamation, all their subjects, to attend them, in arms. They commanded, on the same day, their people not to join the insurgents; and if they had joined, to quit their guilty ranks; giving them, by another proclamation, full assurances, as to their religious concernments[z]. The Queen, and Darnley, wrote, specially, to several barons; desiring them to join the royal standard, with their followers, in warlike manner. At the same time, they removed Douglas, the provost of Edinburgh; and appointed a more sufficient person, to govern the metropolis, during their absence.

After all those measures of vigorous preparation, for a hostile campaign, Mary, and Darnley, departed, from Edinburgh, on the 26th of August, for Linlithgow[a]. On the morrow, they slept, at Stirling. Here, they remained, on the 28th. They moved to Glasgow, on the 29th. On the morrow, they marched with their army, towards Hamilton: But, learning, on the way, that the rebels had thence departed, that morning, for Edinburgh, the royal army returned to Glasgow. On the 1st of September, the army marched, from Glasgow, with design,

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[z] Keith, 312-13.

[a] The movements of the King, and Queen, during this campaign, are given, from the household books, which remain, in the Register-house.

to follow the rebels to Edinburgh. The King, and Queen, slept at Callender: and, on the morrow, they slept at Stirling; while their army rendezvoused, at Kilsyth.

On the same day, the 29th of August, that the Queen arrived at Glasgow, the rebels entered Paisley, with a thousand horsemen. But, finding themselves too weak, to oppose the royal army, they marched to Hamilton, on the 30th; and proceeded, on the 31st, to Edinburgh[b], where the rebels were as much disconcerted, by the quick movements of their pursuers, as by the proclamation, which warned their followers, to return, quietly, to their homes. From Edinburgh, the rebels sent messengers everywhere, imploring aid, in so good a cause: They here invited every one, by beat of drum, to join them, "for the "defence of *God's glory:*" But, these efforts were unavailing, though they were aided, by Knox's sermons[c].

Finding the people of Edinburgh unmoved either, by Knox's preaching, or by Murray's writing, the rebels departed, from the capital, before day break, on the 2d of September, from the energies of the castle: And, marching to Lanark, they proceeded thence to Hamilton, where they were joined by Sir John Maxwell, and Douglas of Drumlanrig: They were now induced to march, into Dumfries-shire[d]. On the same day, the

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[b] Keith. 315; App. 164: The chiefs of the rebels, who came to Edinburgh, were the Duke and Murray, Glencairn and Rothes, Boyd and Ochiltre, and some smaller barons, who had more zeal, than duty, to their legitimate sovereign. Many of the Hamilton's left their chief, before he marched to Edinburgh.

[c] At Edinburgh, they could not get any comfort, or support, and none, or very few, resorted to them, says Knox, 381. On the 19th of August, when Darnley, attended the high church, Knox preached before him against the government of women, and boys. Ib. 330-1. How unscriptural such enthusiastic rant is, need not be observed.

[d] Goodall, i. 206; Keith's App. 163-4. Randolph wrote to Cecil, on the 3d and 4th of September 1565: "If Queen Elizabeth will now help the *congregational* "*lords* with men, and money, they doubt not, but one country will receive both "the queens."

Queen dined, at Calendar, and slept, at Stirling, her army having orders to rendezvous, on the next morning, at Kilsyth. On the 3d of September, she joined her army, at Kilsyth, and marched to Glasgow. Here, she remained, on the 4th and 5th, without making any effort, to pursue the rebels into Dumfries-shire. On the 6th, after dining, at Glasgow, she rode to Stirling, where she slept; leaving, however, Lennox, as her lieutenant, at Glasgow, with the forces of the west; while the army, under the Queen, and Darnley, marched to Stirling, and from thence, on the 8th of September, into Fife. The Earl of Morton, the chancellor, who was treacherous, by nature, and attached, by habit, to Murray, commanded the Queen's army: It was owing to his policy, that the loyalists, and rebels, never met: And, it was owing to his accustomed perfidy, that the Queen's army marched, to the north east, into Fife; while Murray, and his insurgents, retreated, south-westward, into Dumfries; intending to have an easy movement into England, if the Queen should press upon his rear. Soon after the separation of the Queen's army, at Glasgow, on the 6th of September, Morton seems to have retired, from the command, after carrying into effect that important point, of marching the main army into Fife, instead of driving the insurgents, by a rapid pursuit, into England[e].

Meanwhile, Murray, and his insurgents were conducted, on the 4th of September, into Dumfries, by Sir John Maxwell, the Queen's warden. They were thus left full leisure to intrigue;

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[e] Randolph wrote to Cecil, on the 9th of September, Morton has now left the Queen: He was too artful a man, to retire, completely, from the Queen, while he had defective titles to confirm; and was, as we have seen, of much more importance to Murray, by remaining with her. [Keith's App. 164.] On the 8th of October, Randolph wrote to Leicester: Mary's chancellor has forsaken her; and "turned over to the lord's party." [Ibid 165.] Yet, this must be taken with limitations: He was only with the lords in his heart, and secret service. He continued chancellor till the 20th of March 1565-6. [Officers of State, 95.]

to correspond with Elizabeth's officers on the borders; to urge her to declare war against the Scotish Queen: And, to publish, on the 8th of September, a manifesto to the Scotish people, that they took up arms, for *the religion;* that they draw their swords, for a government by the nobles, according to the ancient laws, and not by strangers: They concealed their original motive of levying war against the Queen's marriage, and now adopted other causes of revolt, to captivate the populace. In pursuance of those intrigues, and Cecil's hate, Elizabeth, on the 11th of September, directed Bedford, her lieutenant on the borders "to send 300 soldiers to Carlisle, to be near, to aid the "lords, at Dumfries[f]." In this manner, then, did Elizabeth attempt to unsheath her sword against the Queen, but wanted either strength, or resolution, to effect her half formed purpose.

In the meantime, the Queen, and Darnley, remained, at Stirling, on the 7th of September. On the morrow, they slept at Dunfermlin. On the 9th she dined, at Lochleven, and slept at Falkland. On the morrow, they slept, at St. Andrews, where they spent the whole day, on the 11th. On the 10th of September, Randolph wrote to Cecil, she had imprisoned several gentlemen of Fife: But, she could not find Murray's lady, whom, she knew, had retired to Berwick, for her accouchement: She is offended with Dundee, and Perth, because they have assisted the lords[g]. One of the projected purposes of the Queen's march into Fife was, to oblige the known partizans of Murray to give security, for their quiet behaviour; and to punish those towns, for giving aid to an avowed rebellion: For this purpose, she marched to Dundee, on the 12th of September, where she remained, on the 13th and 14th of September. The King and Queen, now issued a proclamation, in favour of the reformed religion. In it, were exposed the mis-

[f] Keith's App. 163-4.

[g] Keith's App. 165.

representations, which had induced many to join the rebellious standard of Murray: They promised to call a parliament, which had only been prevented, by the machinations of the discontented, when they would confirm all, that she had ever promised to her protestant subjects[h]. On the morrow, she went to Perth, with a similar purpose; and resided, chiefly, at Ruthven, till the 18th, that she removed to Dumfermlin. On the 19th, they dined at the Queen's Ferry, and slept, at Edinburgh, where she remained till the 9th of October[i]. In this excursion, throughout those guilty districts, the Queen, undoubtedly, effected some useful purposes; she punished some of the guilty, and encouraged the loyal: She fined those towns[k], and encouraged others: But, she idly, allowed, during the same time, the insurgents to remain, quietly, in Dumfries, whence they intrigued, with England, and propagated their discontents, in Scotland.

The King, and Queen, had scarcely returned to their capital, when they perceived, that their own weakness of conduct had given strength, and spirit, to the rebels. They issued commands, for their forces, to assemble, at Biggar, on the 9th of October. On the 8th the court set out, for that convenient rendezvous, where they found an army of 18,000 men[l]. They

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[h] Privy Council Register.

[i] The household books ascertain the dates of the several movements of the court. Keith, 316, who was misled by Knox, in stating, that the King, and Queen, returned, from Dundee, to St. Andrews, and thence to Edinburgh.

[k] They fined Dundee, whose provost, Halyburton, was in the rebellion with Murray, 2000 marks.

[l] Randolph represents to Cecil on the 13th of October 1565: "What safety the "Queen thinketh herself to be in, if it be true, as I hear, that she hath a secret "defence upon her body, a knape skul, for her head, and a dagge [pistol] at her "sadle. You may judge what wealth is amongst them, when part of her jewels "should be pawned for 2000 marks sterling." [The original in the Paper Office.] There was a party formed among the rebels, to run at Darnley, and to kill him, or be killed. The Queen, probably, knew that fact.

now pushed through the mountain-pass into Nithsdale, and arrived, on the 10th, at Castlehill, near Durrisdeer, where a privy council was held, for regulating the command of the army: The van was placed under the feeble direction of Lennox; the centre was placed, under the King, accompanied by Morton, Bothwell, Ruthven, and other nobles; with whom rode the Queen, with pistols before her; and the rear was to be led, by Huntley, Athol, and other lords[m]. But, an army, thus composed of such discordant troops, and thus led, by weakness, and treachery, was incapable of any effort. With it, however, the King, and Queen, marched forward to Dumfries, on the 11th of October 1565. And, Murray, with other leaders of this treasonous cause, finding that, with their force, they could not contend against so great an army, fled into England, where they had been assured of the usual safety of Mary's enemies; and where they were kindly received, by Bedford, Elizabeth's lieutenant, who had come with some forces, from Berwick to Carlisle. Thus ended Murray's rebellion, the Duke's imprudence, Cecil's artifices, and Elizabeth's perfidy!

The Queen and Darnley, remained here a few days, giving directions, for the security of the borders; and visiting Lockmaben castle, the ancient seat of the Bruces. Meanwhile, Sir John Maxwell, the warden of the west borders, seeing the cause of the rebels, to be hopeless, made his submission; and

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[m] Keith, App. 115; and the Privy Council Register. Randolph wrote to Cecil, on the 12th of October, what confirms the suspicions, which were entertained of the treachery of Morton, and other counsellors: "Of one thing," said he, "your "honour shall not doubt, but know for certain, that some wise men are enemies to "this government: The laird of Lidington [Secretary Maitland,] is as far, in this "matter, as any other: Of the same band, and league, are the Earl of Morton, and "Lord Ruthven; they only espye their times, and make fair weather, until it come "to the pinch. I hear some good words spoken of the Lord Erskine [Earl of Mar;] "but, trust not much, until further trial." [From an unpublished dispatch, in the Paper Office.]

was continued, in his office, by the Queen's clemency. The court returned to Edinburgh, on the 18th of October.

The Earl of Bothwell, the lieutenant of the borders, was left, with some force, on the western march, to observe the rebels, and to overawe the clan of the Elliots, in Lidisdale, which had been corrupted, by the English wardens[n]. And the Earl of Lennox, the lieutenant of the south-western shires, resumed his station, at Glasgow, to watch the movements of Argyle, and Boyd; as well as to preserve the peace, within his lieutenancy. The Queen, and Darnley, now, remained at Edinburgh, from the end of this bloodless, but hazardous campaign, to the end of this memorable year[o].

Meantime, Randolph remained, at Edinburgh, meditating mischief, and scribbling calumnious letters to his court, with the hope of gratifying Elizabeth, and inciting Cecil, to protect Murray[p]. The duplicity of Elizabeth, and the coldness of Cecil, towards the expatriated nobles, after all their efforts, in pursuance of the incitements of both, threw Murray, and his coadjutors, into despair. The Duke of Chatelherault, whose nerves were weak, perceiving that they could not soon return to their offended country, made his peace; and obtained his pardon, on condition of his living abroad, where he could no

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[n] Keith's App. 116-65; Bedford's letters to Cecil, 24th, and 26th of October 1565, in the Paper Office.

[o] There remains, in Haynes, 413, a remarkable letter, from Lennox, to his imprisoned wife, dated at Glasgow, on the 19th of December; wherein, he gave thanks to God, that the King, their son, continued, in good health, and *liking;* and the Queen great with child. This is, not, the first notice of King James, who was then three months old; being born on the 19th of June 1566. Randolph wrote to Cecil, on the 12th of the preceding November, "it is reported, that the Queen "is with child." [Keith's App. 165.]

[p] Id. He wrote to Cecil on the 13th of October, "what jars there are already "arisen, between her, and her husband; she to have her will, one way; and he "another: He to have his father Lieutenant-general; and she, the Lord Bothwell; "she to have this man preferred; and he another." [The original letter is in the

more be led astray, by Murray's machinations[q]. Yet, Murray, by this measure, obtained the same advantage to his ambition, as if the presumptive heir of the crown, and second person, in Scotland, had been dead; as he was, equally out of the way of Murray's management, for obtaining the first place.

Murray, and his more guilty coadjutors, had now avowed their impatience, by seeking shelter in England, where they hoped, to be received into the frigid arms of Elizabeth. Her lieutenant, and his wardens, received them, indeed, with great civility; and the Scotish refugees moved to Newcastle, on the 15th of October 1565; in order to wait till Elizabeth should settle her conscience, how to receive those nobles, who had resigned their lives, and fortunes, in following her malignant artifices.

Murray, relying on the protection of Cecil, set out, from Newcastle, for London, to solicit the support of Elizabeth, who had urged him into the guilty field, by so many inducements. But, he was stopped, at Ware, as he advanced towards London[r]. Cecil, meantime, chid Bedford, for allowing Murray,

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Paper Office] The fact has already been stated. [Bedford's letter to Cecil, 26th October, in the Paper Office.]

[q] The Duke appears to have carried a greater number of followers into the rebellion, than all the other leaders. In the remission to him, his sons, and friends, on the 2d of January 1565-6, there are more than 250 persons, severally, named, and of them, there are no fewer than 157 of his name of Hamilton: After thus getting their remissions, the Duke, and his sons, obtained a license to go abroad. The Duke's son, *Claud*, who was afterwards commendator of Paisley, had the deanery of Dunbar, before he was of age. The pardon of the Hamilton's, however, gave great offence to Darnley, and his father, as nothing could satify them, but the complete ruin of the Duke, and his family.

[r] There remains a letter, in the Paper Office, from Murray, to the English Privy Council, dated, at Ware, 21st of October 1565, which shows the embarrassments of both parties: "Upon my journey, very near this town of Ware, I received your "honour's letter, from a servant of Mr. Randolph, passing to Scotland; and thereby "plainly understand the Queen's Majesty's resolution to be, that it were not meet

to come up to London: And, Bedford could only excuse himself, by saying, "that he could not prevent him, without using "violence." Yet, Murray, soon after, by the artifices of Cecil, obtained an audience of the Queen[s].

Of this interview, between Elizabeth, and Murray, we have a very curious account, from Sir James Melvill, the partizan of Murray. At length, says he, the nobles were compelled to flee into England, for refuge to her, who, by her ambassadors, had promised to hazard her crown, in their defence, in case they were driven to any strait; because of appearing against the said marriage; though this was expressly denied them, when coming to demand help: For, when they sent up my Lord of Murray to that Queen, the rest abiding at Newcastle, he could obtain nothing, but disdain, and scorn, till at length, he and the abbot of Kilwinning, his companion, in that message, were persuaded to come, and confess unto the Queen, upon their knees, in presence of the ambassadors of France, and Spain, that her Majesty had never moved them to that opposition, and resistance, against the Queen's marriage. For this, she had desired to satisfy the said ambassadors, who both alleged, in their master's names, that she had been the cause of the said rebellion; and that her only delight was, to stir up dissension among her neighbours: Yet, by this cunning, she overcame them: For, she handled the matter so subtily, and the other two so cowardly, in granting her desire, contrary to

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"for me, to come, at this time; but, to forbear such open dealing, with her Ma-"jesty, untill it may be further considered, what shall be metest for me to do. I "am sorry to have been so late advised of her Majesty's resolution, as I am per-"suaded, your honours knew not, that I were so far upon my journey: But, so soon, "as I were certified, I stopped here, conform to your honour's desire."

[s] Bedford, however, on the 24th of October, wrote Cecil, from Berwick: "I "heartily pray you to favour, and further, the Earl of Murray, and *the common* "*cause*, that he cometh up for: How much it standeth thereopon, I need not tell "you." The original letter remains, in the Paper Office.

what was truth; being put in hopes of relief, if they would so far comply with what was judged her interest, for the time, that she triumphed over the said ambassadors, for their false allegations. But, unto my Lord of Murray, and his neighbour, she said; Now, you have told the truth; for neither did I, nor any, in my name, stir you up against your Queen: And, your abominable treason may serve, for an example to my own subjects, to rebel against me: therefore, get you out of my presence: you are but unworthy traitors[t]."

Thus happy was Elizabeth in her dissimulation! In her hypocritical imposture on the French, and Spanish ambassadors. Thus low could the ambition of Murray stoop, as the drudge of Elizabeth: yes; to be a king, he demeaned himself more than became a man. On the conduct of Henry VIII.'s daughter, there cannot be two opinions: Like a fiend, she tempted, and betrayed. Like a fury, she reproached, and tormented, the miscreants of her delusion, and treachery: Like another Hecate, she thrust them forward into rebellion; and then deceived them, for the gratification of her envy, her hate, her strong desire of double dealing[u]. In return, for such perfidious conduct, which they might have expected, from her habits, all that they could obtain were general protection, and secret supplies, for their subsistence, on the borders, from Bedford; as we know, from Camden, and Strype; and still more, from the statement of money received, and paid, to them; from the accounts rendered, by her lieutenant[v].

Murray, and his expatriated followers, now lay along the

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[t] Mel. Mem. fol. p. 57. The author had this circumstantial account, from his brother, Robert, who was then present, in the court of Elizabeth, as the Scotish resident. They were both partizans of Murray.

[u] The whole state papers; the entire narrative of facts, before stated; demonstrate, that Elizabeth incited Murray to rebel against his sister, and benefactress; and then betrayed, and disgraced him.

[v] Bedford's accounts remain, in the Paper Office.

northern borders of the conterminous kingdoms, but chiefly in Newcastle, unseen, by Elizabeth, protected by Cecil, and supported by Bedford; having a good position, for intriguing, in Scotland, and watching occasions, in England There is reason to believe, that Throkmorton was sent, by Cecil, and Elizabeth, to solicit their pardons, from Mary, according to their usual policy[w]. Sir James Melvill continued to whisper, in her offended ear, very unsalutary advice. At length, on the 1st of December, 1565, summonses were executed against those expatriated nobles, to answer for their treasons, in the Parliament, which was to assemble, in February, then next[x] The guilty nobles were thrown into despair, by that vigorous measure. Murray, with a meanness, which was unworthy of his ambition, courted Rizzio, the Queen's private secretary; sent him a diamond; and flattered him, with many promises of future friendship[y].

We have already seen, from the information of the intelligent Randolph, which of the Queen's ministers remained, in her councils, with design to betray them. There were other nobles, who remained at court, and who were extremely dangerous, from their unprincipled activity, and were usually ready, to promote the interests of Murray[z]. The officers of state, and the nobles before mentioned, entered into the most profligate cabals, with the avowed design, of proroguing the intended Parliament, as one of the means, for obtaining Murray's pardon[a].

In the midst of those various intrigues, the Queen, and

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[w] See his epistle to Mary, in Melvill's Mem. 60.

[x] See the act, in Keith, 320: The nobles, thus summoned were the Earls of Murray, Argyle, Glencairn, and Rothes, with the Lords Ucheltre, and Boyd, with others of less note.

[y] Melvill's Mem. 63. Murray sent Robert Melvill into Scotland, to solicit the Queen's pardon, but without any success [z] Ibid, 64.

[a] Id.; Goodall, i. 225—33.

Darnley enjoyed the festivities of Christmas, at Edinburgh, though the King became every day more impatient, for *the crown matrimonial,* without understanding the meaning of the term, or the thing. In the beginning of January 1565-6, the King, who delighted more in the sports of the field, than in the business of the cabinet, went into Peeblis-shire, to enjoy, for a few days, the diversions of the chase[b]. The King, not finding the game very plenty, soon returned to Edinburgh. He now indulged daily his sensual propensities; and continued to harass the Queen, by his frequent importunities, for the *crown matrimonial,* which, without knowing what this bauble was, he already enjoyed.

About the same time, the King, and Queen, caused Murray, and his guilty associates, to be summoned, as a preliminary step, for being adjudged, as traitors: And, for this end, a Parliament was called to meet, at Edinburgh, on the 4th of February 1565-6[c]. Other measures were taken to strengthen the ruling powers, and to weaken Murray's faction.

Meanwhile, Murray's friends, and partizans, occupied, as we have seen, the whole of the Queen's government, particularly, Secretary Maitland, which was only another name, for talents, and perfidy: And of course, it was an easy task, for such men, to find reasons, which induced the Queen, to prorogue the Parliament, from the 4th of February, to the 7th of March, with a notification to the guilty nobles, that their trials would certainly proceed on the 12th of March. About the same time,

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[b] See Lennox's letter, of the 26th of December 1565, not 1566, in Keith's Pref. vii. This letter shews, that the above excursion to Peeblis, at the distance of 20 statute miles, was sought for, by the King himself, as an amusement, and not imposed upon him, as a task; as Buchanan says. Knox, however, informs us, 389, "the King passed his time, in hunting, and hawking, and such other pleasures, "as were agreeable to his appetite; having in his company, gentlemen, who were "willing to satisfy his will."

[c] Keith, 370.

arrived, at Edinburgh, an ambassador from the French King, and dispatches, from the Scotish ambassador, at Paris; giving the Queen advice, which she seems to have followed, not to pardon the expatriated nobles[d].

In the meantime, a conspiracy had been formed, in the preceding January, for the relief of those nobles. The chief conspirators were Morton, Maitland, Ruthven, and Lindsay. They had intended to carry their concert into action, on the 4th of February, if the Parliament had not been prorogued;[e] which was, no doubt, owing to their intrigues. After the prorogation of Parliament, that conspiracy assumed a different shape. It was now resolved, with the artifice peculiar to Maitland, to make Darnley the patron of this plot, and the dupe of the conspirators. This puerile youth had been disappointed, at the prorogation of Parliament, in which he expected the crown matrimonial for himself, and the forfeiture of the guilty nobles, as public examples, though the gratification of his enmity was his real object. George Douglas, his mother's bastard brother, was Morton's instrument to work upon the weakness of Darnley; to show him, that he was wronged, in not having the crown matrimonial; that he had not the influence, in the government, to which he was entitled, from his birth, his marriage, and his merit. Darnley was thus induced to enter into the views of the conspirators; and his father, Lennox, was so weak, by engaging in the same concert, as to fortify his folly. They entered into the most guilty writings of agreement, for effectuating their several objects. The Queen, on the 7th of March 1565-6, opened the Parliament: And, to give more solemnity to this constitutional ceremony, she asked

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[d] Mel. Mem. 63-4; Randolph to Cecil, 7th Feb. in the Paper Office; Keith's App. 167.

[e] Mel. Mem. 63-4-5, Randolph's letter to Cecil of the 7th February. Cot. Lib.; Goodall, i. 274.

her husband, who was panting for *the crown matrimonial,* to accompany her: But, he refused; preferring his pastime to his parliamentary duty; and evincing that his heart was estranged, from the elegant woman, who had given him every boon, except her sceptre; and had risqued her person, for his benefit. The Queen had no intimation of this conspiracy, or its object, or its victim. Her women were all, faithfully, attached to her through life: But, they knew nothing of the secrets of ruffians. Her men servants were all faithful: Her private secretary, Rizzio, would have died for her: But, he was a foreigner; and was of course unacquainted with the horrible practices of the Scotish statesmen, reformed as they were; having no religion, or morals. The whole officers of state were concerned, in this conspiracy, under Secretary Maitland, the contriver of it, whose duty required him to watch over the safety of the Queen, with the stability of the state. Add to all these, the King, and his father, who were two of the most active conspirators in a plot, which is unexampled in the annals of villainy. Elizabeth, and Cecil, were, by a joint letter, from Bedford, and Randolph, completely informed of the whole detail of this shocking conspiracy, which they received with great satisfaction: And, they took into their protection Morton, and Ruthven, and other complotters, in the horrid deed: So that Elizabeth, and her secretary, Cecil, may be properly considered, as accessories, both before, and after, the fact. With Milton, we may add:

> " ——— Now were all transformed
> " Alike, to serpents all, as accessories
> " To this bold riot."

It is impossible to relate the shocking scene, which ensued, in any words, but the Queen's own, in her letter to her ambassador, in Paris, the Archbishop of Glasgow:[f] " Upon the 9th

[f] Her letter, dated, on the 2d of April 1566, is in Keith, 330—34.

" day of March, we being at even, about seven hours, in our " cabinet, at our supper, sociated with our sister, the Countess " of Argyle, our brother, the commendator of Holyrood-house, " the lard of Creich [Beaton] Arthur Erskin, and certain " others our domestic servitors, in quiet manner, especially by " reason of our evil disposition [illness] being counselled to " sustain ourselves with flesh, having then passed almost to " the end of seven months in our birth, the King, our hus- " band, come to us, in our cabinet, and placed himself beside " us, at our supper. The Earl of Morton, and Lord Lindsay, " with their assisters, boden in warlike manner [properly " *armed*] to the number of eighteen persons, occupied the " whole entry of our palace of Holyrood-house, so that, as " they believed, it was not passable for any person, to escape " forth of the same. In that mean time, the Lord Ruthven, " boden in like manner [equally armed,] with his complices, " took entry perforce, in our cabinet; and there seeing our " secretary David Riccio,[g] among others our servants, declared " he had to speak with him. In this instant, we required the " King, our husband, if he knew any thing of that enterprize, " who denied the same: Also, we commanded the Lord Ruth- " ven, under the pain of treason, to avoid him forth of our pre- " sence, (he [Riccio] then for refuge took safeguard, having " retired him behind our back) but Ruthven, with his complices " cast down our table upon ourself, put violent hands on him, " struck him over our shoulder with whinyards [hangers,] one " part of them standing before our face, with bended dags " [cocked pistols,] most cruelly took him out of our cabinet, " and at the entry of our chamber, gave him fifty six strokes " with whinyards, and swords. In doing whereof, we were " not only struck with great dread, but also by sundrie consi- " derations was, most justly induced to take extreme fear of

[g] This is the proper spelling of the name.

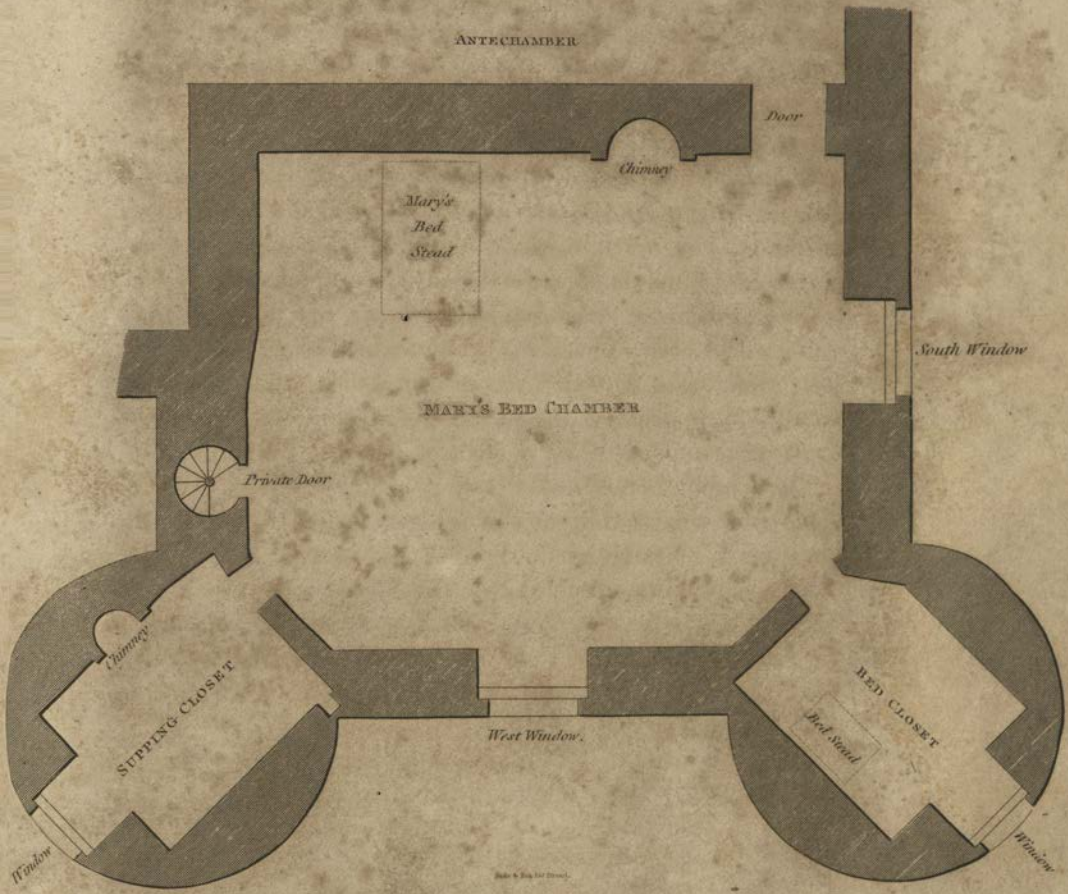
" our life. After this deed, immediately, the said Lord Ruth-
" ven, coming again into our presence, declared how they, and
" their complices, were highly offended with our proceedings,
" and tyranny, which was not to them tolerable; how we
" were abused, by the said David, whom they had actually
" put to death, namely, in taking his counsel, for maintenance
" of the ancient religion; debaring of the lords, who were
" fugitives, and entertaining of amity with foreign princes,
" and nations, with whom we were confederate; putting also
" upon council, the lords Bothwell, and Huntley, who were
" traitors, and with whom he [Riccio] associated himself."

Such, then, was the deed; and the causes thereof, as assigned, by the doers thereof! The Queen was detained a close prisoner, during the night, without any communication, with her ordinary servants. On the morrow, the King, without her consent, issued a proclamation, commanding the lords of Parliament, to depart from Edinburgh. The Queen was still continued a prisoner, during this day, with her guards, or servants, and watched, by the conspirators, who were assisted, by about eighty citizens of Edinburgh. Murray arrived, in the evening, with his expatriated associates; being allowed to come into Scotland, by the King's order to Lord Home, the warden. They pretended to feel, for the Queen's condition. On the morrow, Murray assembled the whole conspirators, and his associates, to consult what ulterior measures should be taken with the Queen. It was thought expedient, to commit their sovereign to Stirling castle, till she should approve, in Parliament, all their wicked enterprizes; establish their religion, and give to the King *the crown matrimonial*, and the exclusive government of the realm. And, it was even proposed to put the Queen to death, or to detain her, in perpetual captivity. Meantime, the Queen, and perhaps her women, endeavoured, by the gentle arts of *female charm*, to reclaim Darnley to the duty, which he owed to his wife, considering her condition;

saying nothing of what she had done for him, as Queen. He was thus induced, to promise the conspirators to keep her safe, and to induce her, without compulsion, to approve, in Parliament, all their plots. By these means, he cleared the palace of his complotters; and her usual guard was allowed, to attend upon her.

The Queen now endeavoured to induce her husband, to flee, with her, from this guilty scene. She represented to him her own condition, and how she had been always treated, by those men; that he must expect to be worse treated, by them, if he pretended to govern them, or the state: and she made him understand, how much it would offend all princes, and confederate states, if he should alter the ancient religion. By these representations was he persuaded, to adopt her measure, for freeing them both, from the tyranny, which oppressed them. He agreed to flee with her, secretly, to Dunbar castle They executed their purpose in the night, by quitting Holyrood-house, accompanied only, by Arthur Erskine, the captain of her guard, and two others. Owing to the Queen's efforts, they arrived safe, at this place of refuge: And, here, was she soon joined, by the Archbishop of St. Andrews, with his friends, and by the most loyal of the nobility, with their followers.

THE SCENE OF RIZIO'S ASSASSINATION.



SECTION VII.

From Rizzio's Murder, till the Queen's Delivery.

THE assassination of Rizzio, in the Queen's presence, whether we consider its origin, its achievement, or its result, must be deemed one of the most atrocious events, in history; as representing the manners of the age, and the baseness of the men. Much more was intended to have been done, on this bloody occasion, if the chiefs had not differed; as we learn, from Randolph's information to Cecil, though one priest, Friar Black, was slain, in his bed. It is, certainly, very horrid, to hear Bedford cry out: "Now, that this enemy of religion "is taken away, every thing will go well![h]" Elizabeth rejoiced to have been now freed of such guests, who were offensive, and expensive to her[i].

So many nobles, and their followers, gathered around the Queen, at Dunbar, that she was, soon, too powerful, for the new and the old, conspirators. The Earl of Glencairn, as being one of the old conspirators, had the Queen's permission to wait upon her, and was pardoned. The Earl of Rothes followed his example, with the same success. Murray, and Argyle, also, made several applications to the Queen, for par-

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[h] In the letter to Cecil, 11th March 1565-6, in the Paper Office.

[i] Bedford, in his letter, 16th March, 1565-6, to Elizabeth, accounted for the £3000. intrusted into his hands, *to be secretly paid* to the Earl of Murray, in this manner: He had paid £1000. to Murray;—£1800. to the officers of Berwick; and £200. only, remained, in his hands.

don, which she granted, on condition of their retiring into Argyleshire, during her pleasure; the Queen not thinking it safe, in her condition, to have too many traitors, to contend with, at the same disastrous time. Morton, Ruthven, and Lindsay, fled into England, where they were received, and protected[k]. Secretary Maitland absconded: and even Knox fled into Kyle, where he hid himself, from the notice of law, though not from the consciousness of guilt.

At the end of five days, the Queen returned to Edinburgh, well accompanied, by her subjects[l]. Darnley declared to the Queen, and her Privy Council, that he was innocent of this conspiracy; and never counselled the same[m]. For this tergiversation, Darnley was laughed at, by Murray's faction, and despised by the people: Darnley was made the scape-goat, and never again recovered the confidence of any one. Lennox, who was equally guilty of treason against the Queen, was taken ill, upon seeing the unsuccessful turn of this odious plot; he never spoke to the Queen, but once, when he saw her in the castle, after her return to Edinburgh; and, for ever after, hated the Queen; as he had injured her, though she had done so much for him. There was, on the Queen's return, a vigo-

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[k] Morton, and Ruthven, says Robertson [i. 371] were admitted to the Queen, while she had no liberty, in Holyrood house, who promised them a pardon, in any terms: But, the Queen says nothing of this, in her narrative; and it is inconsistent with probability. Almost the whole circumstances of the Queen's escape are mistaken, by Robertson. On the 2d of April, Elizabeth wrote to Bedford, that she is willing, Morton may stay, in England, till she give further orders. Keith, 167.

[l] Knox says, that the Queen's force consisted of 8000 men; and that the recent conspirators had fled the day before.

[m] See his bond, in Goodall, i. 266—8, proving his guilt. On the 20th of March 1565-6, he issued a proclamation, whereby he declared himself innocent of the murder of Rizzio, and of coercing the Queen's person; so far he admitted his guilt, that without the Queen's assent, he aided the return of Murray, Argyle, and their associates. Keith, 167. That is, he, and his father, had committed aggravated high treason.

rous prosecution of the conspirators against Rizzio; yet, was this conduct more affected than real: Only two mean persons, Scot, and Yair, were convicted of the guilty fact, and executed. Almost all the other conspirators were forgiven by her, before the end of the year[n]. Secretary Maitland was first pardoned, by the influence of Murray, contrary to the opposition of Bothwell; the other officers of state, were, gradually, readmitted, to perform their several functions, except the chancellor Morton, who lost that office, on the 20th of March, which was given to Huntley.

The Queen, on this occasion, felt, that she was not only a woman, but a pregnant woman, who was very ill qualified, to struggle with unprincipled, and unfeeling ruffians. And, she seems to have very willingly accepted the recommendation of her privy council, to retire into the castle of Edinburgh; and to wait, therein, the time of her delivery.[o] One of the first persons, whom the Queen met, when she entered the castle, was poor Arran, whom she kissed, and treated, with great kindness: He was sensible enough to know, and to feel, the Queen's kindness to him: yet, was he obliged to retire, from Edinburgh castle; giving great security, that he should remain within Hamilton-castle, or four miles thereof, or enter either the castle of Dunbarton, or Dunbar, at the Queen's pleasure.

The Queen now employed her usual good nature, in reconciling the nobility to each other; and she is said to have sent for Argyle, and Murray, in order to agree them with Huntley, Athol, and Bothwell: she, certainly, is supposed to have given a splendid feast, in the castle, with a view to this reconcilement[p].

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[n] Keith, 334; App. 168; Arnot's Crim. Trials.

[o] Keith, 335; and Privy Council Reg. of the 5th of April 1566.

[p] Cecil states, in his Diary, 22d of April 1566, Argyle, Murray, and Glencairn, are received to the Queen's favour.—Joseph, brother to David [Rizzio] is secretary to the Queen of Scots.

But, it was quite in vain, to attempt to reconcile nobles, for any length of time, who were irascible, interested, and ambitious. The Queen, meanwhile, wrote to Elizabeth, and to other princes, not to shelter, or protect Morton, and his late complotters, who had not only disturbed her government, but endangered her life. Her good cousin, in her usual practice, sent Kylligrew, to congratulate Mary on her escape, and complained of her harbouring one Ruxbie, who, upon some hints from Robert Melvill, and a little investigation, was discovered, to be a spy of Secretary Cecil; and had been, clandestinely, sent to Scotland, for discovering the Queen's intercourse, whatever it might have been, with the English Roman Catholicks[q]. Ruxbie was arrested; yet, Cecil was not, from prudential considerations, brought to shame.

This was a moment of intrigue, when the nobles endeavoured to circumvent each other, and the two Queens tried to outwit each other. Mary discovered, at length, that Randolph, who had long been her enemy, had given 3,000 crowns to the Countess of Murray, during the late rebellion; but, had written a scandalous book; reflecting on the Queen's birth, dignity, and government[r]. And, the Queen sent Robert Melvill, to desire Randolph, to be removed, from her court, where he acted, more like an intriguer, than an accredited agent[s].

However well intended it might have been, by the privy council of Scotland, to advise the Queen, to retire into the castle, for her *accouchement;* yet, was it converted, by matchless artifice, into a *plot*, which had for its end, the transfer of the Queen's sceptre to Murray's guilty hand. The gray bearded statesmen reasoned in this manner: Recollecting the assassi-

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[q] Keith, 336-7-8; Haynes, 445-448.

[r] I have seen a copy of that *scandalous book*, in MS., which remains among the MSS., of the Antiquary Society of London, No. 89, in folio, No. 1-2-3.

[s] Keith, 168. Randolph was removed to Berwick, where he was commanded, to remain, for a season.

nation of Rizzio, in the Queen's presence; and considering the Queen's period of pregnancy; the probability was, that she would be delivered of a monster; of a still born child, pretty certainly; and knowing how subject child-bed is to accidents, they inferred, with great appearance of reason, that the Queen would, in all probability, never leave her bed alive. Arran, the lunatic, we have seen, turned out of Edinburgh-castle. The Duke, the presumptive heir of the crown, with his sons, and adherents, resided, at Dieppe, as expatriated men: And, we must regret, with commiseration, that the affairs of such a man, and such a family, though protected by law, had been so little cared for, themselves, owing to their imprudence. In these circumstances, Murray, with Argyle, his brother in law, went into the castle, when the Queen's pregnancy advanced, and would allow no one to sleep in the castle, but Darnley, who, as they knew, could be easily expelled, in case of a demise. Huntley, the chancellor, and Bothwell, the high admiral, desired to sleep, within the castle; but, were flatly refused, owing to Murray's influence: And Bothwell was soon after sent to the borders, on pretence of watching the movements of Morton. Cecil knew the whole detail of this plot, and conveyed the whole of it to Elizabeth, who seemed to be delighted, with the probability, that her good cousin would never again rise, from her childbed: And Randolph was commanded to remain, at Berwick, in order to hasten to Edinburgh, for supporting the bastard's pretensions to the Scotish crown, in opposition to law, and right[t].

Yet, this is the epoch, which Robertson fixes, for the commencement of Bothwell's influence over Mary; with a recol-

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[t] Haynes, 447-8; Melvill's Mem. 67-8; Goodall, i, 286-8; Kylligrew's Letter to Cecil, from Edinburgh, 24th of June 1566. [In the Paper Office.] The Queen seems to have had the same intimation of this plot; but, did not believe the information: and Randolph's letter, 7th of June 1566, to Cecil, in the Paper Office.

lection, perhaps, of Huntley, and Bothwell's offer, to risque their lives, in extricating the Queen, from Holyrood-house, when in the murderous hands of her own ministers, and Murray's partisans. But, when Bothwell first tried his influence, he found he had none; as we have seen. When the Queen retired to Alloa, after her accouchement, an altercation ensued, in her presence, between Murray, and Bothwell, in regard to the pardon of Maitland, when Murray prevailed, in obtaining Maitland's restoration to his office, and his power of mischief. We thus see, that Bothwell failed, when he tried his influence a second time[u].

The Queen kept her Easter, which happened on the 14th of April, in the castle. But, she had little solace, and less hilarity, with Darnley, whose conduct, in Rizzio's assassination, she was completely acquainted with: And, as he had thus shewn, his own, and his father's purpose, to have been, to seize her sceptre, it was not easy to remove her jealousy of his future conduct. He soon after rode to Stirling, with a dozen horse; meaning to have treated with Argyle, and Murray: But, the Queen sent Robert Melvill, to warn those nobles, not to deal with him; so that he was disappointed of his purpose, whatever it were[v]. The Queen, soon after, recalled Murray, and Argyle, to court, when she endeavoured, to promote a general reconcilement among the nobles; as we have seen. But, the Queen never could be persuaded, that she was endeavouring to perform impossibilities: she could not be made to believe, even

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[u] Yet, is it curious to remark, that Killigrew, in his letter to Cecil of the 24th of June 1566, remarks: "*It is commonly said,* that Bothwell's credit with the "Queen is more than all the rest." We have seen above, that the credit of Bothwell was nothing, when opposed, by the influence of Murray. This truth runs through the whole history of that period, the popular belief, as to Bothwell, was constantly contradicted, by the fact. Robertson, by writing, from *popular story,* generally gives a representation, directly contrary to the truth of fact.

[v] Drury's letter to Cecil, 20th April, 1566, in the Paper Office.

after Murray's rebellion, and Murray's conspiracy, with Darnley, Lennox, the whole officers of state, and many able, and vigorous characters, that he was capable of conspiring against her; that he had an overpowering faction; and that his ambition was, constantly, aiming at interests of his own, quite distinct from hers; and that he, invariably, courted Elizabeth, but never his sister: The influence of Murray over Mary, as it was not to be described, so can it only be compared to the singular influence of the rattlesnake over its prey: She could not resist it. The discords, between her, and her husband, created town-talk, at Edinburgh, and at London, during some months, as we learn, from Cecil's correspondents. They became reconciled, about the middle of June: But, such a reconcilement, between such personages, could not be sincere, or of long endurance.

Throughout the subsequent month, while the Queen amused herself with her work, and her books, without a wheeled carriage[w], Murray employed himself, during some months, in obtaining special pardons, for his many friends, who had been concerned, in Rizzio's murder[x]. The Queen, perceiving, at length, about the middle of June, that the time of her delivery approached, invited her principal nobles to Edinburgh, being still afraid of Morton's approach. She made her will; thrice written; one copy, she had sent into France, the other she kept herself, and the third she left with those, to whom she committed the chief charge, for the time: And, on the day, preceding her delivery, she wrote to her good cousin Elizabeth, a letter, which was to be conveyed, by Sir James Melvill; she also wrote to Drury, the governor of Berwick, desiring him to supply Melvill with passports, and to have post horses in

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[w] Randolph informed Cecil, that she had, one day, walked out a mile, from the castle.

[x] The Privy Seal Register, xxxv, is filled with such pardons.

readiness. After all these preparations, the Queen was, safely, delivered of a male child, on the 19th of June, between nine and ten, in the forenoon[y]. This event was received, throughout Scotland, with great joy, and thanksgiving, except by Murray, and his faction. On this occasion, the assembly of the church sent a deputation, to testify their gladness; and withal to desire, that the prince might be baptized, according to the common form of the reformed church. This deputation was graciously received; but, without complying with the request, she presented her infant to those deputies, which prevented the mortification of a refusal.

It was the Lady Boyne, who, by the Queen's order, informed Sir James Melvill of the happy event of the Queen's safe delivery of a son; and commanded him to repair, as soon as might be, to Elizabeth's court, with the information. He arrived, the first night, at Berwick, and on the fourth day, thereafter, at London. Randolph, as his presence, at Berwick, much less, at Edinburgh, was not necessary, on so happy an issue, to so many speculations, immediately, followed him. Melvill first saw his brother Robert, the Queen's envoy, at Elizabeth's court, who gave notice to Cecil of this unlooked for event, with a request, that he should keep the secret till Sir James's arrival, at court. Elizabeth was then, at Greenwich; and Melvill arrived there, in the evening; as ill luck would have it, "her Majesty was in great mirth, dancing after supper: But, "as soon as Secretary Cecil whispered in her ear, the news "of the prince's birth, all her mirth was laid aside, for that "night: All present marvelling, whence proceeded such a "change; for the Queen did sit down, putting her hand, under "her cheek; bursting out to some of her ladies, that the "Queen of Scots was mother of a fair son. The next morning," continues Melvill, "was appointed, for my audience,

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[y] Keith, 338.

" at what time, my brother, and I, went to Greenwich, and " were told how sorrowful her Majesty was, at my news; but, " that she had been advised to shew a cheerful countenance; " which," adds Melvill, " she did, in her best apparel; saying " that the joyful news of the Queen, her sister's delivery, of a " son, which I had sent her, by Secretary Cecil, had recovered " her out of a heavy sickness, which she had layen under, for " fifteen days: Therefore, she welcomed me, with a merry " volt; and thanked me, for the diligence, that I had used, in " hastening to give her that welcome intelligence, but sad dis- " appointment. All this she said, before I had delivered unto " her my letters of credence. Then, I requested her Majesty " to be a gossip to the Queen, to which she gladly conde- " scended. Your Majesty, said I, will now have a fair occa- " sion, to see the Queen, whereof I have often heard your " Majesty express so great a desire: Whereat, she smiled; say- " ing, that she wished her estate, and affairs, might permit " her; in the mean time, she promised, to send both honour- " able lords, and ladies, to supply her room[y]." Thus far Sir James Melvill, who, as Keith remarks, tells the whole tale, better than any other could have told such a tale; of the happy delivery of the Scotish Queen, after so many perils; of the disappointment of Murray, after such expectations; of the surprise, and dissatisfaction, of the envy, and chagrin, of Elizabeth, after what had been written by Randolph, and inculcated by Cecil.

When we see so many pensions given to worthless wretches, it is some satisfaction to perceive, that the Queen, as soon as she was fit, to think of business, rewarded the poor women, who had served her faithfully, during her confinement. Margaret Houseton, the relict of one Beveridge, was her midwife, at the

[y] Mem. fol. ed. 69-70.

birth of the Prince[z]. Margaret Little, the spouse of Alexander Gray, burgess of Edinburgh, was "maistress nureis" to the Prince, and Steuart of Scotland: and for the good service of nursing him, there was granted, in February 1566-7, to her, and her husband, the half of the lands of King's barns, in Fife, during their lives[a]. Such, then, were the rewards of those useful characters, who performed essential services to the Queen, who was not aware of the roguery, which surrounded her, arising from the baseness of her good sister, Elizabeth, as well as the villainy of her good brother, Murray.

Of King James, who was thus introduced into life, who was delivered to the Earl of Mar, as his governor, and to Lady Mar, as his governess; was henceforward, owing to the treachery of Mar, even from his boyish days, made an actor, in the guilty scene; the more curious reader may wish to know something more minute, and interesting, than is usually found, in general history.

Here is the ESTABLISHMENT of his HOUSEHOLD, in March 1567:[b]

Item: imprimis, my Ladie Mar, the governess.
Helen Litill, maistress *nutrix;*
Nanis Gray, her daughter.
Helen Blyth, her woman servant.
Gilbert Ramsay, her man servant.

ROCKARIS:
Jane Olyphant.
The ladie Kippenross.
Jane Crummy,
Katherine Murray,

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[z] In July 1566, the Queen granted to Margaret Houseton, and her son, Thomas Beveridge, for their lives, two chalders and four bolls of bear, from the Newtown of Falkland, for her good service, to the Queen, at the birth of the prince of this realm. [Register of Signatures of that date.] [a] Id.

[b] It is a copy, from the original, in the archives of J. F. Erskine of Mar, whose liberal spirit finds a gratification, in communicating, documents, which may be either useful, or agreeable.

Christiane Stewart, the daughter to the late lord of Coldingham.
Alysown Sinclair, keeper of the King's claythis.

Pantrie:

James Cawbraith.

Kitching:

John Lyon, maister cuik.
James Murray, foreman.
William Murray, keeper of the veschell.
Christell Lamb, gallepyn, in the kitching.
Jok Slowan, porter in the kitching.

Wyne Sellar:

Jerome Boy, in the wyne sellar.

Aell Sellar:

George Boig, browster, and sellerman.
John Boig, his brother.

Lauandrie:

Margaret Balcomie, lauander.

Johne Cunnyngame, maister houshald to the Kingis grace, with ane servande.
Andrew Hagie, stewart, with ane servande.
John Dunkesoun, minister.
William Murray, in the Kingis chalmer.
William Brokkes, in the Kingis chalmer.
Alexander Fargisoun, in the Kingis chalmer.
Johne Acutrie, Franchman, and his vyife [*cancelled.*]
James Marschell, keeper of the laidnar [*cancelled.*]
William Fairbarne, furnisar of coillis.
Ane Pastisar, callit Patrik Rannald.

Violaris:

Mekill Thomas Hudsoun.
Robert Hudsoun.
James Hudsoun.
William Hudsoun.
William Fowlartoun, thair servand.

Item. For my Ladie Mar, and hir servandis, and furnist mease daylie takand thairto in bred, vyn, and kiching, as after followis:

Imprimis daylie xiiij gret bred 1 q^{t}. 1 p^{t}. vyne, 1 galloun ii q^{ts}. aell, iij leiddes collis wouklie, in vynter, viz. frome the first of September to the first of Aprill; and in symmer 1½, leid, viz. frome Aprill till the month of Lep-

tember wouklie; and ane half punde candle in vynter, and in symmer ane quarter of ane punde.

Item to my Ladie and hir servandis daylie the kiching, on ane flesche day, ij particles beef, ij byilzeit pulterie, ij caponis rosted, iij quarteris of muttoun, ane kyd, ane syd of sukand weill, vj chikynis or dowis; with bakyne meit to my Ladie, alanerlie, at the discretioun of the maister houshalde, with potages, after thair discretioun; and on the fische dayis siclyk refarrit to the stewart, ande maister houshalde.

The maisteres nutrix, rokkeris, and vtheris gentilmen, in the chalmer.

Item. To the maisteris nutrix daylie vj gret bred, 1 p_t vyn, 1 g^{llis} aell, ij leiddis coillis ouklie in vynter, and 1 leid in symmer; ane half pund candle in vynter, and ane quarter punde in symmer.

Item. The iiij rokkaris, alysoun Sinklar, Gressell Gray, and my Lord of Coldinghame his douchter. dailie, viij *z* gret bred, 1 q^t vyne, 1 g_{ll}. 1 q_t. 1 p_t. aell, 1 leid collis ouklie in vynter, and nayn in symmer; ane half quarter punde of candle.

The kiching for the maisteres nutrix, rokkaris, and vtheris, in the chalmer.

Item. Ane particle of beif daylie, and builzeit pultrie, ij rosted caponis, iij quarteris of muttoun, ij particlis of weill; vj chikkins, or dowis; ane kyde, with potagis refarrit to the maister houshald, his discretioun.

Violaris:

Item. To the violaris, and thair servandis, daylie, vij gret bred, 1 g^{ll}. 1 p^t. aell, ij leidis collis in vynter, and nane in symmer.

Kiching to the violaris:

Item. ij quarteris of muttoun; ij powterie; with potagis, and fische, to be refarrit to the maister houshald, his discretioun.

Lavander:

Item. To the lavander iij gret bred, 1 q_t. 1 p_t. aell, ij leiddis coillis in vynter, and in symmer 1 leide.

Kiching:

Item. In the flesche day ane quarter of mouttoun, and on the fische day for hir liveray fische daylie xviij ^{d}.

Item. To the maister houshalde, the pantreman, twa sellerman, Johne Lyoun, maister cuik, Johne Dunkesoun, James Murray, foirman, Williame Murray, Androw Hagie, Jerome Boy, the pastesar, John Acutre, franchman, James Merschell, Willam Fairbarne, and the maister houshalde and Andrew Hageis servandis in bred daylie in bred xvj, in aell ij gallounis, 1 q^t. 1 p^t. of vyne.

Kiching:

Item. In the Kiching to thame, ane particle beif; ane muttoun: ij particles weille; ij caponis; vj chikkinis, or dowis.

Out Liverayis:

Villiam Murray, keipar of weschell, Cristell Lambe, gallepyne, ane Jok Slowan, porter in the kiching, to thir iij persounis iij gret brede, 1 q^{t}. 1 p^{t}. aell, the flesche, and fische, to be refarret to the maister houshald, his discretioun.

Item. To the Kingis awne mowthe daylie ij½ gret bred.

Item. Of aell to the Kingis mowth 1 q^{t}. 1 p^{t}.

Item. To his mowth, daylie, ij caponis.

Summa of bred, LIX gret bred.

Summa of aell viij g^{lls} ij q^{ts}.

Summa of vyne 1 galloun, 1 p^{t}.

Summa of beif, iiij particlis.

Summa of weill, ij quarteris, iiij particlis.

Summa of caponis, viij caponis.

Summa of pultrie, v pultrie.

Summa of chikynis, xviij, or dowis.

Summa of kydis, ij kydis.

Summa of candle.

Summa of collis, xiiij, leiddis, thairof, in ouklie.

Leverayis x leiddis, and to the Kingis kiching daylie, ij leiddis, and to his chalmer daylie ij leiddis.

Summa of muttoun iij muttoun 1 quarter.

SECTION VIII.

From James's Birth till Darnley's Murder.

THE Queen, as we have seen, having survived the various accidents of childbed, and the intervenient intrigues, began to think, towards the end of July 1566, of leaving Edinburgh castle, for better air, to convert her convalescence into health. She seems to have been determined, partly by the offers of the Earl of Mar, and still more, by the situation of the place, on the northern bank of the Forth, to make an excursion to Alloa. She had no wheeled carriage; she was not strong enough to ride on horseback; and she resolved to go thither, by water. On the 27th of July, she departed, for that delightful seat, in a vessel, accompanied by the Earls of Mar, and Murray, her officers of state, and usual attendants. But, Darnley chose to go by land, as Murray accompanied the Queen, by water: and we shall, thenceforward perceive, that this thoughtless youth could not exist, for any length of time, in the company of the Queen's ministers. On the morrow, she held a privy council, at Alloa, concerning the postponed affairs of state.[c]

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[c] Privy council Reg.—Melvill's Mem. 67, have quite mistaken the dates of the Queen's excursions to Alloa. It seems to be certain, that the Queen resided, in Edinburgh castle, from her return to Edinburgh, from Dunbar, on the 18th of March, till her delivery; and from that epoch, till she went to Alloa, on the 27th of July. [Privy Seal Reg. xxxv, passim; Privy Council Reg.] Murray's Journal, the compilation, probably, of Buchanan, states, however, that the Queen went to Alloa, *with the pirates*, on the 20th of July, or thereby: But, Goodall has shewn, from these two records, that she remained at Edinburgh, till the 25th of the month;

The Queen returned, from Alloa, to Edinburgh, on the 29th of July; in order to meet Malvissier, the French ambassador, who had, meanwhile, arrived, to congratulate her safe delivery.[d] On the 1st of August, the Queen returned to Alloa, where she was joined, by the French ambassador, and by her husband, who remained two nights with her[e]. It was at Alloa, on this occason, that secretary Maitland, who had absconded after Rizzio's assassination, was admitted into her presence, and pardoned, by the intercession of the Earl of Athol, in opposition to Bothwell's influence, whatever it may have been[f]. The Queen returned from Alloa, to Edinburgh, on the 4th of August; having received much refreshment, though attended with much more calumny[g]. The Queen declared her disapprobation of Darnley's resentment against Murray, which was thus avowed, by her husband; and was mortified, that he should have so little prudence, as to avow his hatred of so powerful a

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and he might have said, till the 27th of July; as the Privy Seal Register evinces. *The pirates*, who are mentioned above, were, only, the Lord High Admiral, who, provided the vessel, for the Queen's accommodation, with the necessary seamen. Though Murray accompanied the Queen, on that excursion; yet, had he the assurance, to give that journal, in evidence, against the Queen, before Elizabeth, though he knew it to be forged, and false.

[d] Treasurer's Accounts; and Privy Seal Reg. xxxv. On the 31st of July, she held a Privy Council, at Edinburgh; as we know, from the Register.

[e] Keith, 345; Goodall, i, 291.

[f] Bedford to Cecil, 3d of August; Keith, 334-45.

[g] See Goodall, i, 290-5, for satisfactory confutations of those calumnies, from record evidence. In the Paper Office, is a document of "Advertisements out of "Scotland, from the Earl of Bedford, in August 1566, which stated, that the "King and Queen agreed well together, for two days, after her coming from Alloa; "and after Murray's coming to Edinburgh, some new discord had happened: The "cause assigned, by that document, was, that Darnley was offended with the "Queen, for keeping so much company with Murray, her minister; and even "threatened to kill Murray, who charged Darnley with this, before the Queen, and "others; and this Darnley admitted, and retired, in disgust.

person, as well as the minister of the country. Darnley carried his folly even so far, as to be displeased with the Queen; because she used familiarity with either man, or woman, and especially the ladies of Argyle, Murray, and Mar, who were her most constant attendants[h].

Such was the uncomfortable state of the court, during the two first weeks of August 1566. On the 14th the Queen, and her husband, set out, for Megotland, to enjoy the diversion of hunting, which was not now what it had been, in the happier days of James V. They were attended, by the Earls of Huntley, Murray, and other nobles[i]. On the 16th of August, they held a council, at Rodono, where they made an ordinance; reciting the scarcity of deer; and ordaining that they should not be shot, under the pains of law. Being thus disappointed, they determined to return; they were, at Traquair, on the 19th; and came to Edinburgh, on the 20th; where they remained on the 21st, and to the 22d, of August[k].

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[h] The Countess of Argyle was Murray's bastard sister; the Countess of Murray was his wife; and the Countess of Mar, was the wife of his uncle, John Earl of Mar. Darnley, we see, was no courtier; or he would not have threatened to kill the minister, who was all powerful; nor, was he well bred, to avow his resentment, so openly: Neither was it prudent, in a country of so much fanaticism, and factiousness. The above representations correspond with Lesley's Defence, 37.

[i] Privy Seal Reg. xxxv. shows, that the King, and Queen, were still, at Edinburgh, on the 13th of August: They, meantime, sent letters, according to ancient custom, to the nobles of the south, to meet them, in Tweedale. [Treasurer's accounts of the 9th and 12th of August. Holinshed, from Buchanan, mentions Huntley, Murray, and *Bothwell*, as nobles, attending the Queen and court: But, *Bothwell*, who is so often, and, maliciously, mentioned by Buchanan, was at his charge, on the Borders; and before the King, and Queen set out, they sent orders to their lieutenant, Bothwell, and to the sheriff of Selkirk, to make the necessary dispositions, for the royal hunting, in Megotland. [Treasurer's accounts, 12th Aug. 1566.] Megotland was a wild district, in the south-east of Peebles-shire, bordering on Ettrick forest, in Selkirkshire.

[k] Privy Seal Register, xxxv.

Disappointed, thus, in Megotland, the King, and Queen, resolved, to look for better diversion, in Perthshire[l]. On the 22d of August, they went, from Edinburgh to Stirling; carrying with them the Prince, whom they left, in Stirling castle.[m] From Stirling, the King, and Queen, went into the forest, of Perthshire, in pursuance of their purpose of hunting. They hunted, for a few days, in Glenartney; and they visited Lord Drummond, at Drummond castle, where they were on the 30th of August[n]. On the morrow, they returned to Stirling, where they remained together, nearly a fortnight. On the 11th or 12th of September, the Queen went to Edinburgh, for the dispatch of public business; but, Darnley declined to go with her; as he could not face Murray, and the other ministers[o]. The Queen returned to her husband, on the 21st of

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[l] On the 20th of August 1566, the King and Queen, sent letters; intimating their intention to Lord Drummond, to the Stewart of Monteith, to Andrew Graham, the brother of the Earl of Monteith, and to the Laird of Glenurchy. [The Treasurer's accounts, of that date.]

[m] Advertisements out of Scotland, in the Paper Office; Birrel's Diary, 5, says, that, on the 22d of August 1566, the prince was conveyed to Stirling. Murray's journal, under the 13th of August, says, "the Queen past to Megotland, to the "hunts: From the birth of the prince, to this time, the King was put to abide, in "Dalkeith, [Morton's castle:] and after the returning, from the hunts in Megot-"land, *was sent to Stirling*. About this time," continues the journal, "my Lord "of Murray agreed the King, and her; and they passed to bed together." These passages, like the other parts of this notorious journal, is, merely, a series of the grossest falsehoods, and artful calumnies; as we have seen, in the above text, which is drawn up, from the records: Whether we consider it, as Buchanan's forgery, or Murray's proof, it is equally disgraceful to them. In place of the King being *put to abide in Dalkeith*, he chose to take possession of it; having an eye to Morton's forfeiture: And for this intrusion, and other offences to Morton, he failed not to requite Darnley.

[n] Holinshed, 384; and the Privy Seal Reg., which shows, that they were, at Drummond-castle, on the 30th of August.

[o] The Privy Seal Reg. xxxv. shows, that the Queen resided, at Edinburgh, from

September; and endeavoured to persuade him, to accompany her, to Edinburgh, where her presence was necessary; but, she tried, in vain, and he chose to remain, at Stirling. Beaton, the brother of the archbishop, the Queen's ambassador, at Paris, arrived, from France, at Stirling; where he found the Queen, in good health, and the Prince, in a growing state[p]. On the 23d, she repaired to Edinburgh, at the request of her Privy Council; leaving the aged Le Croc, the French ambassador, with her wayward husband, at Stirling; and on whom he threw away both his wisdom, and experience. After the Queen's departure to Edinburgh, Darnley communicated his secret to Le Croc, that he intended to leave the country, though he did not communicate the whole of his project. Lennox, his father, on a visit, which he then made to Darnley, also, endeavoured to persuade him of the impracticability of his plan, for relinquishing his wife, and son, to wander, in other lands, without a friend, and without resources. Lennox, on his return home to Glasgow, wrote the Queen, of his son's design, and of his inability to dissuade him, from so impracticable a purpose[q]. This letter she received, on the morning of the 29th of September, when she laid it before her Privy Council, for their advice; and in the evening, at 10 o'clock, Darnley arrived, at Holyrood-house: But, he, peremptorily, refused

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the 12th to the 21st of September: And she held councils, at Edinburgh, on the 17th and 21st of September: as we know, from the Privy Council Register.

[p] Le Croc's letter, in Keith, 345. The Privy Seal Reg. xxxv. evinces, that she came from Stirling to Edinburgh, on the 23d of September; and the Privy Council Reg. shows, that she held a privy council, on the 24th of the same month.

[q] Le Croc's letter, in Keith 345—7; and the letter of the Privy Council, in 347—50, evince the waywardness of this weak prince: These concurring statements prove the childish misconduct of Darnley; and clearly falsify Buchanan, and Murray's journal, the mis-statements, and calumnies, whereof, are beyond all bounds.

to enter the palace, unless three, or four of the chief nobles, who were within, should leave it: These were Murray, and Maitland, and some other of the officers of state[r]. The Queen, condescendingly, went without the palace to receive him; and conducted him to her own apartments, where he remained with her, during the night. About that time, as we learn from Knox[s], Darnley wrote to the Pope, and other Catholick powers, complaining of the state of the country, as being disordered; because of the Queen's bad encouragement of Catholick concerns: By some means, the Queen obtained copies of those letters; and threatened him so sore, that there was never after any appearance of love between them: But, of all this, we see nothing, in the statement of the Privy Council, in Le Croc's letters, or in Robert Melvill's epistle: And Darnley was not in the habit of such intrigues. While the Queen, and her husband, passed the night together, she questioned him, about his design, to depart from Scotland;[t] and requested

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[r] The statement of the Privy Council, in Keith, 348-9, which complains of the arrogance of this conduct, in him; as they were three of the greatest lords of the kingdom. Goodall, i. 284 says, these were, the Earls of Argyle, Murray, and Rothes, who were at court, about this time, as the Privy Council Reg. shews: Against all those, Darnley had long avowed his enmity; and had recently endeavoured, to drive Murray, and his wife, and the Countess of Argyle, from the Queen's society. Robert Melvill, indeed, in his letter to the Queen's ambassador, at Paris, 22d October 1566, speaks of the cause of Darnley's discontent: That he cannot obtain such things as he seeks, to wit, the dismissal of Secretary Maitland, the justice clerk, and the clerk of register. Keith, 351. [s] Hist. 399.

[t] Privy Council Statement, in Keith, 349. "At this time," says Murray's journal, "the King, coming from Stirling, *was repulsed with chiding;*" how contrary to the fact, need not be mentioned. The same journal, with equal falsehood, says, on the 24th of September, she lodged in the Checker-house, *and met with Bothwell:* And, this mistatement is amplified, by Buchanan, in *his detection.* Now; the Privy Council statement shows, that she lodged, *in her palace of Holyroodhouse:* And both this statement, and the Privy Council Reg. show, clearly, that she was then attended, by the lords of the Privy Council, and her officers of state,

to know his cause for such a resolution: But, he would not acknowledge, that he had any cause of discontent, and would not assign any reason, for his conduct. On the morrow, the Privy Council assembled, in the Queen's apartments, before whom the Bishop of Ross laid the letters from the Earl of Lennox, on the King's resolution. The council reasoned the matter with him; and endeavoured to make him avow the cause of his resolution, to depart the realm; and whether any particular person had given him offence. The Queen taking him by the hand, kindly requested him to say, whether she had ever given him offence, and conjured him not to spare her, in the least[u]. Le Croc, also, endeavoured to induce Darnley to avow the true cause of his discontent; but in vain. The King would not confess, that he had any such design, as

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from her return to Edinburgh, till she set out for Jedburgh, on the 8th of October. Keith 348-9; and the Privy Council Reg. from the 24th of September to the 6th of October 1566.

[u] But, though Darnley could not state any cause of complaint, Buchanan, and Knox, are studious, to make complaints for him. Knox, 399, says that the King was destitute of such things, as were necessary for him, and had scarcely six horses in train: And, Buchanan, in his Detection, says, that he could not get so much as to maintain his necessary expenses, daily. Such calumnious intimations are clearly falsified, by the testimony of the lords of the council. Keith, 356; and, also, by the Treasurer's accounts. The fact is, that he was allowed to order, by himself, payments in money, and furnishings of necessaries, from the public treasurer. Of those payments, and furnishings, which were made, by the treasurer, part were made by the King's order alone, part by the joint order of the King and Queen, and part by the Queen alone; as the Treasurer's books evince. And the Treasurer's accounts show, that he was amply furnished, with necessaries, at the very time, when those calumnious statements were asserted by men, who knew them to be untrue. On two days alone, the 13th and 31st of August, the Treasurer, by the King, and Queen's order, Darnley was supplied with a vast number of articles, for the King's use alone, amounting to £300. which is more than the Queen had, for six months, even including the necessaries, which she had, during her confinement. It is quite obvious, that those misreports of Buchanan, and Knox, were made, with a studious purpose, to malign, and injure the Queen, at a critical moment, in the Queen's fortunes.

his departure from Scotland; he said he had no cause of discontent; and he, freely, declared, that the Queen had never given him any cause of complaint: He now retired, from the Privy Council; saying to the Queen, "Adieu, madam, *you shall not see my face, for a long space;*" and to the lords, he said, "adieu, gentlemen."

After this unceremonious departure, Darnley went to his father, at Glasgow, where he pretended to continue his purpose of going abroad, and kept a vessel in readiness. From Glasgow he wrote to the Queen, in affected language; wherein he grounded his complaints on two points of grievance: (1) That the Queen did not trust him with so much authority, nor was at such pains to advance him, and to make him be honoured, by the nation, as formerly: (2) That no body attended him, and the nobility avoided his company. To these avowed grievances, the Queen made answer: (1) That she had, at the beginning, conferred so much honour on him, as had rendered herself very uneasy; and that he had abused her favours, by patronizing the conspiracy against her; but, notwithstanding this great failing on his part, she continued to show him such respect that, though those, who entered her chamber with him, and murdered her faithful servant, had named him the chief of their enterprize; yet, she had never accused him thereof, but did always excuse him, as if she had not believed the fact: (2) As to his not being attended; the fault was his own, as she had always offered him her own servants; and as to the nobles, they pay deference, according as they receive respect themselves; and if they desert him, his own deportment is the cause thereof; as he is at no pains, to make himself beloved by them; and had even gone so far, as *to prohibit those noblemen to enter his apartment, whom she had first appointed to attend upon his person.* The Privy Council, who give this representation, solemnly declare, "that so "far as facts had come to their knowledge, Darnley had no

" ground of complaint; but, on the contrary, that he has the " best reason, to look upon himself, as one of the most fortu- " nate princes, in christendom, if he had only known his own " happiness, and made the proper use of the good fortune, " which his destiny had put into his hands[v]."

Le Croc, who was plainly an intelligent, and observant man, concurred in that representation: and concluded his statement, by saying: " It is in vain to imagine, that Darnley shall " be able to raise any disturbance; for, there is not one per- " son, in this kingdom, that regards him, any further than is " agreeable to the Queen: And, I never saw her majesty, " so much beloved, esteemed, and honoured, or so great har- " mony amongst all her subjects, as at present, by her own " conduct[w]."

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[v] Keith, 350. The above letter of the Privy Council to the Queen mother of France, 8th October 1566, was published by Keith, from a copy, in the Scots college, at Paris, without the signatures: But, the Privy Council Register supplies that defect, by specifying the names of those, who were present, viz. Huntley, the chancellor, Argyle, the justice general, Murray, the chief adviser, Athol, Cathness, Rothes, the Archbishop of St. Andrews, the Bishops of Galloway, Ross, Orkney, and Dunkeld, Secretary Maitland, and the usual officers of state. [Privy Council Reg. 3d and 6th of October 1566.] Bothwell was present in council on the 3d and 6th of October; but departed, for the Borders, in the afternoon of the 6th. On the contrary, *Murray* was constantly about the Queen; and was present in every council, from the 24th of September to the 5th of November, both at Edinburgh, and Jedburgh, where he attended her, and took a share, in every transaction. [Privy Council Reg.; Keith, 352; App. 133.] His friend, Secretary Maitland, was the chief clerk of the Privy Council; and Alex. Hay, a creature of Murray, was his deputy. The long statement of the Privy Council to the Queen mother of France, in which Murray, and Maitland joined, was drawn, by Maitland; and, decidedly, falsifies, Murray's journal, which was afterwards fabricated, by Buchanan, to calumniate the Queen.

[w] Keith, 346. Darnley's enmity to Maitland, the secretary, had been of long standing. [Randolph to Cecil, 1st Dec. 1565, in Keith, App. 165.] Darnley opposed the intercession, which was made for Secretary Maitland's pardon, for his concern in Rizzio's assassination, of which Darnley himself was the principal con-

It was, at the end of September 1566, when Darnley behaved so absurdly, at Holyrood-house, that Murray, and Maitland, condemned him to the *bowstring*. The long exposition of the Privy Council to the Queen-mother of France, before mentioned, is a proof of this resolution. Murray, with a view to that object, drew Bothwell into their concert, before he set out for Lidisdale[x]. Maitland gave notice to Morton, who then was expatriated, in the north of England; and who was assured, that his own relief was interwoven, in the success of their projected purpose. Now, it must always be remembered, that no plot could have been entered into, in Scotland, during that age, without the assent of Murray, so superior was his influence, and power: Nor, could Maitland have written, on such a topick, to Morton, without Murray's knowledge. It was the practice of the Scotish statesmen of that period, whenever they looked forward to some danger, which might require the protection of Secretary Cecil, to write him letters of acknowledgment, for the past, with a view to the future[y]. But,

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spirator; yet, now pretended to hate all the other conspirators [Ibid 168.] And after Maitland obtained his pardon, Darnley continued to demand his dismissal, from the office of secretary of state: Secretary Maitland was one of the public ministers, who was in Holyrood-house with the Queen, when Darnley came there, on the 29th of September; and refused to enter the palace, because he, and other officers of state, were within it. Beyond this folly of Darnley, malignant imbecility could not go: Yes; to place himself in avowed opposition to Murray, by far the most powerful and artful statesman, was still more foolish: He had seen, or might have seen, that Murray, and Maitland, were in the habit of using *any means* to obtain *any end*: And this pettish boy had not experience enough to know, that the statesmen of that age used very little ceremony, in making use of the pistol, or stiletto, the bowstring, or the bowl, upon objects of resentment, or hate.

[x] Murray avowed that fact, in his answer to Huntley, and Argyle's protestation, Goodall, ii. 322.

[y] Of such letters, there are many in the Paper Office. Murray, Maitland, and others, before they set out, from Edinburgh, to Jedburgh, wrote such letters of acknowledgment to Cecil, on the 1st, and 3d of October, which remain, in that office.

the whole detail of the plot was not finally settled till the Queen returned to Craigmillar castle, in November, two months after the conception of the original design. The Queen having refused, to be divorced, from Darnley, when proposed by Maitland, and urged by Bothwell, in presence of Murray, was included, as one of the victims of their villainy[z]. The series of the facts, as they came out, in the progress of this murderous plot, from its conception, till its consummation, by the Queen's dethronement, are the best proofs of the existence, and end of the plot, for the ruin of the King, and Queen, by the murder of the one, and the expulsion of the other.

The Queen's declared purpose, at Alloa, in August, for holding justice ayres, at Jedburgh, was now executed, at the beginning of October 1566. Bothwell, the Queen's lieutetenant, on the Borders, who was sent forward, to prepare matters, left Edinburgh, in the evening of the 6th of October. The Queen, the officers of state, and the whole court, departed, from Edinburgh, on the 8th of the same month, with the original intention, for Jedburgh. Bothwell had, scarcely, entered Hermitage castle, when a scuffle ensued, on the 8th of October, with Elliot of Park, who wounded him, severely, in the hand. The Queen, and the officers of state, continued, how-

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[z] Goodall, ii. App. No. cxxvii; Ib. 359. Arnott's Crim. Trials. App. No. 10, the confession of Ormiston; wherein it appears, that the whole lords, at Craigmillar, on that occasion, had agreed upon the death of Darnley; and that there were writings given, by the chief conspirators, to save Bothwell harmless, for his active share, in the King's murder. Sir John Forster's letter to Secretary Walsingham in October 1581, proves the same point. Then came the meeting, at Whittingham, of Morton, Bothwell, and Maitland, about the 20th January 1566-7, three weeks, before the murder, to concert the assassination. Add to all those facts the records of the convictions of those three conspirators, for their guilty concert of the same murder. Morton, Bothwell, and Maitland, acted as Murray's agents, who kept out of sight, however guilty.

ever, to do the public business, at Jedburgh[a]. After the Queen had remained here a week, in administering justice, she went to Hermitage castle, on the 16th, to enquire into the outrage, which had ended, by wounding her lieutenant: And, though the distance was twenty statute miles, she returned, on the same day, to Jedburgh. Robertson, copying Buchanan's misrepresentations, informs us: How Mary, hearing of Bothwell's misfortune, "instantly flew thither, with an impatience, which "has been considered, as marking the anxiety of a lover, "but little suited to the dignity of a Queen[b]." On the morrow, the Queen sent a large parcel of papers to Bothwell, illustrative, perhaps, of the purpose, entertained, by some of his servants, to assassinate him; and she directed some provision of victual, to be supplied to Hermitage castle,[c] which was

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[a] Birrel's Diary, p. 5, states: "On the 8th of October, the Queen went out of "Edinburgh to Jedburgh, to hold a justice aire. On the same day, Bothwell "was wounded, in the hand, by Elliot of Park, whose head was sent unto Edin- "burgh thereafter." The Queen held a Privy Council, at Jedburgh, on the 10th of October; as we know from the register. Keith, 351—3.

[b] The historian places the wounding of Bothwell, on the 16th of October, and calls this the advanced season, and says the distance is 18 Scotish miles. Hist. i. 389. The whole is a happy tissue of mistake, and calumny. Birrel says, truly, that Bothwell was wounded, on the 8th of October, the same day, that the Queen, and her court, left Edinburgh, for Jedburgh. The Privy Council Register shows, that the Queen held a privy council, at Jedburgh, on the 10th of October; and the Privy Seal Reg. xxxv. 77, proves, that she went, on the 16th of October, to Hermitage castle. The distance, between the two places, is fourteen Scotish, or twenty English miles. The *records*, and the *facts*, laugh at Robertson's false dates, and frothy declamation. It is more than probable, that there were not accommodations, in Hermitage castle, for the Queen; and the district, through which she rode, was disturbed; and the historian might have as well talked of the Queen's want of dignity, when, attended, by one, or two women, and two hundred horsemen, she gallopped, from Perth, to the Queen's Ferry, when she knew, that Murray lay on one side of the road, and Argyle, on the other, to intercept her.

[c] The Treasurer's accounts prove those two facts: And Keith, App. 167, evinces, that there had been a purpose entertained, to murder Bothwell.

the Queen's, and not Bothwell's. On the 17th of October, the Queen was seized with a dangerous fever, which, during ten days, brought her into a very doubtful state. She seems to have lived, daily, in a feverish state; owing partly to the misconduct of her husband, and to her apprehension of some fresh conspiracy. Intelligence was sent of the Queen's illness to Darnley, who was then, at Glasgow; but, he came not to Jedburgh till the 28th of October, and remained with her, but one night[d]. Both Lennox, and his son, had abundant reason, for attending upon the Queen, constantly; as measures had been taken, during her late illness, in case of her demise, which would have excluded them, from the government.

The business of the ayre being finished; and the Queen sufficiently strong; she left Jedburgh, on the 9th of November; and went to Kelso, where she held a council on the 10th; as we know from the register. On the 11th, she departed from Kelso, with design to view Berwick, when she was followed, by her court, and the country, consisting of 800, or 1000 horsemen. Proceeding, by Langton, and Wedderburn, she threw

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[d] Keith, 352-3; App. 133-5; Pref. vii: Both the French ambassador, and the Bishop of Ross, wrote to the Queen's minister, at Paris, of her dangerous state, and of the neglect of Darnley, who then resided with his father, at Glasgow. Buchanan, and Knox, however, in their usual spirit of calumny, tell a different tale. Knox, 399, says, "the King being advertised, rode post, from Stirling, to Jedburgh, "where he found the Queen somewhat convalesced, but she would scarce speak "to him." And Buchanan states, that when the King heard of her sickness, he went that very moment, with all possible expedition, to Jedburgh, to testify his affection, and comfort her, in her weakness, by all gentle services possible; and also to incite the Queen to repentance, and a better life. [Detection, and History.] Buchanan, as well as Knox, represents the King, as posting, from Stirling to Jedburgh: Now; the King was not at Stirling, but at *Glasgow*, where he remained all the time of the Queen's fever, and only came, on the 28th of October, the second day of her convalescence. Records, and facts, continually, falsify the slanders of those two calumnious writers, as well as, the misrepresentations of their copyists.

her eyes on the 15th, from Halidonhill, on Berwick. She thence, went to Coldingham, and thence passed to Dunbar, where she remained, a day, or two. On this agreeable journey, she met with an accident, which was not attended with much consequence: When Sir John Forster, one of the wardens of the Borders, with the other officers of Berwick, came out, to offer their respects to the Scotish Queen, Sir John's horse reared, and in coming down, struck the Queen's thigh[e]. On the 19th of November, she went to Tantallon castle; and from thence to Craigmillar, on the 20th[f]. Secretary Maitland, meantime, went to Whittingham, whence, he dispatched letters to Morton, in the north of England; in-

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[e] Murray's journal gives an account of the Queen's progress, which is as false, as it is calumnious. The forger of this journal makes the Queen, and Bothwell, leave Jedburgh together, on the 5th of November 1560, when they two proceeded to Kelso, where they remained two days. The records contradict both the date, and the circumstances, of that jaunt of the Queen and Bothwell. Secretary Maitland wrote an account of this progress, which has been given above; and the name of Bothwell is not so much as once mentioned: Yet, did he, certainly, attend the Queen, as high sheriff of the three shires, through which, she was to pass. As a privy counsellor he sat in the several privy councils, which she held, at Dunbar. While she remained there, she wrote letters to Elizabeth, and to the Privy Council of England. Keith, 354; and App. 169.

[f] Melvill gives some account of the Queen's progress, from Kelso to Dunbar, and intimates the hurt, which the Queen received: But, he adds, untruly, "*that the King followed her, wheresoever she went; but could obtain no countenance.*" [Mem. 77.] If he really wrote this, it would show, that he was capable of deliberate falsehood, or rather that his book was interpolated; as he attended the Queen throughout, and knew, that her husband, meantime, resided with his father, at Glasgow. There are many other paragraphs, in Melvill's Memoirs, which are equally false; and equally show, that the book must have been greatly interpolated. In proportion, as the sad catastrophe of Darnley approached, the writings of Buchanan, and Knox, Melvill and others, become more absurdly false, and outrageously calumnious against the Queen; in order to cast the guilt, from Murray's faction, upon her: And in this view of the subject, the writings of Buchanan, Knox, and Melvill, are at once proofs of a plot, and of the guilty proceedings of Murray, and Morton, of Bothwell, and Maitland.

forming him of the Scotish affairs, and of the progress, which they had made, towards the liberation of him, and his friends.

After the Queen's arrival at Craigmillar castle, her husband came to visit her, on the 26th of November; and remained a week. The Queen was, meantime, in the hands of the physicians, sick, and melancholy, as we learn, from the observant Le Croc[g].

There accompanied the Queen to Craigmillar, besides the officers of state, Murray, Argyle, Huntley, the chancellor, and Bothwell, the admiral: Secretary Maitland joined them, when he came, from Whittingham. In the beginning of December, Murray, and Maitland, opened to Argyle, Huntley, and Bothwell, the project of a divorce, between the Queen, and Darnley; and they approving of it, the whole plan was laid before the Queen, in the presence of these nobles: It was reasoned, with the Queen, by Maitland, the most eloquent, and able of her ministers, whom he could not persuade, such was her repugnance, when they supposed she would be most willing: And though Bothwell said, in reply to her objections, that his father and mother had been divorced, yet his titles, and offices, and estates, had descended, lawfully, to him, she still showed her repugnance, and desired them not to meddle any more with such a subject; as she was resolved to have patience, with her husband's temper, which might change, for the better[h]. Now, is

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[g] Le Croc's letter of the 2d of December 1566, in Keith's Pref. vii. in which he says, "the King came to visit the Queen, about five, or six, days ago; and, as he "thought, intended to go away to morrow," [the 3d December]. Murray's journal, which is another proof of his factious guilt, asserts, "that while the Queen was, at "Craigmillar, the King came forth of Stirling, and offered himself to her; but was repulsed."

[h] See Huntley, and Argyle's declaration, on this subject. Keith, App. 136—8. Murray's evasive answer, Ib. 138-9. Goodall, ii. 317—321. See, also, the instructions of the convention of nobles, and prelates, in Sept. 1568. Ib. 359. Huntley, and Argyle, were both present, in that convention, who, no doubt, communicated those important facts to the convention. The facts, as they occurred, in the pro-

it quite certain, as we have seen above, that Murray, and Maitland, were the original proposers of that divorce, with several objects in view; the ruin of Darnley, the pardon of Morton, and the Queen's fall; as well as ulterior measures, which they reserved, either for their suecess, or disappointment: They were disappointed; and their ulterior measures were Darnley's murder, and the Queen's marriage, and dethronement.

The Queen removed, from Craigmillar, on the 5th of December 1566, to Edinburgh: And, here, she remained, till the 11th of the same month, when she went to Stirling, to prepare for her son's baptism[i]. Murray's journal states, with its accustomed fallacy, that the Queen went to Stirling, on the 5th of that month. And, it adds, with its usual malignity, "that "she took the King, from his lodging, in William Bell's "house, to the castle, and placed him very obscurely there." This propensity, to pervert the best intentions of the Queen, is an additional proof of the progress of Murray's faction, in their project of murdering the King, and of dethroning the Queen, after defiling her, by her marriage, to a murderer. The fact of removing Darnley, from a private house to the castle, the residence of Kings was the unfitness of being in a private lodging, while the envoys of various powers were daily ex-

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gress of the plot, are still stronger proofs of the conspiracy against Darnley, by Murray's faction. The guilty meeting of Morton, Bothwell, and Maitland, at Whittingham, to concert the murder. And, the consequent convictions of these three complotters, for the murder, so concerted, by them. Add to all these, Ormiston's confession, in Arnet's Crim. Trials, App.; and Sir John Forster's letter to Secretary Walsingham, in the section of calumnies. As a supplemental proof may be subjoined what Murray says, falsely, indeed: On November 17, They (the Queen and Bothwell) returned together to Craigmillar, and began to reason the divorce; and this malignant slander is amplified, by Buchanan, in his Detection, the depravity of which is such, that Buchanan, considering what he owed the Queen, might have well cried out in Shakspeare's language: Oh, heavens! that this treason were not; or not I, the *detector*. [i] Privy Seal Reg. xxxv

pected to the baptism of their son. But, Darnley was not present, either at the ceremony, or the entertainment.

In the chapel of Stirling castle, was the Prince baptised, on Tuesday, the 17th of December 1566. Every thing was done, at this solemnity, according to the form of the Roman Catholick church. The Prince was held up, at the font, by the Countess of Argyle, under a commission from Elizabeth, as her representative. And the Archbishop of St. Andrews did administer the baptism, with the usual ceremonies of the Roman church. Neither the Earl of Bedford, Elizabeth's representative, nor any of the Scotish nobility of the new form, entered into the chapel, but stood, without the door. After the rites were all performed, the child's name, and titles, were thrice proclaimed, by the heralds, under sound of trumpet, Charles-James, James Charles. It was the Queen's pleasure, as we learn, from Le Croc, that he should bear the name of James, as all the good kings of Scotland had the same name, and the name of Charles, being the name of the King of France. Then did the music begin; and after it had continued for some time, the Prince was again conveyed to his apartment. The Countess of Argyle, by thus representing the English Queen, at this ceremony, gave offence to the reformed church, and was obliged to do penance, for her sin. The reformed nobility, by standing, without the door, avoided this scandal. And Bedford, by imitating their example, cannot be said, to have been present at the ceremony, as Elizabeth's gossip, though he had come so far, for the purpose of ceremony. Thus nearly allied to folly is fanaticism! The feasting, triumph, and mirth, upon this occasion, was uncommonly splendid, and continued all the time, that the ambassadors remained, in Scotland. "The Queen," as we are told by Le Croc, "behaved "herself admirably well, during the baptism; and shewed so "much earnestness to entertain all the goodly company, in the "best manner, that this made her forget, in a good measure,

" her former ailments: But, I am of the mind, however," said he " that she will give us some trouble as yet; nor, can I be " brought to think otherwise, so long as she continues to be " so pensive and melancholy: She sent for me yesterday, the " 22d of December; and I found her laid on the bed, weeping " sore; and she complained of a grievous pain, in the side: " And for a surcharge of evils, it chanced, that the day her " majesty set out, from Edinburgh, for Stirling, she hurt one " of her breasts on the saddle, which she told me is now " swelled. I am much grieved," said the aged Le Croc, " for the many troubles, and vexations, she meets with[k]." What an admirable subject was that scene, for a fine pencil!

But the Queen's *vexations*, and *troubles*, did not end soon. The baptism was scarcely performed, as we have seen above, when the lords, who remained, without the chapel, with Bedford, at their head, began a negotiation with the Queen, which was of more importance to them, than a dozen such baptisms. It was, for the pardon of Morton, and his guilty associates, for Rizzio's murder, who had been protected, by Elizabeth; and now solicited their pardons. The Scotish Queen, with good reason, had resisted, hitherto, all applications, for their restoration: But, their pardon was now granted, says Robertson, to the influence of Bothwell alone: Yet, we know, from Bedford, that Elizabeth, and Cecil, instructed him, to make the strongest instances, for that end; and he was joined, in his solicitations, by Murray, and by Athol; and Bothwell, and almost all the other lords, helped therein, or else, it would not so early, have been obtained[l]. It was on the 24th of

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[k] Keith's Pref. vii.

[l] Bedford's letter to Cecil, 30th Dec. 1566, and 9th Jan. thereafter, which are both in the Paper Office. Some said Bedford endeavoured to stop the pardon of Morton, with an allusion, probably, to Darnley's enmity: But, the lords stood to it, and obtained the point. Yet, George Douglas, and Andrew Kerr, were specially excepted: Douglas had snatched the King's dagger, and struck Rizzio with

December 1566, that the Queen signed Morton's pardon, with the late Lord Ruthven, William, now Lord Ruthven, Lord Lindsay, and seventy-five other guilty conspirators, who were chiefly the followers of Morton[m]. It is singular to remark, that Morton, Ruthven, Lord Lindsay and some others of those, who were now pardoned, in less than six months, as the agents of Murray, dethroned the Queen.

Murray, when an expatriated rebel, had received so many favours from Bedford, that, in return, he carried him into Fife, where he treated his English friend "with much honour, great "cheer, and courteous entertainment[n]." Darnley remained, in Stirling castle, till the 24th of December, when Morton's pardon passed the Privy Seal, of which he had no doubt heard. He now left the castle, abruptly, without taking leave of the Queen:[o] and set off, for Glasgow, to visit his father, at that

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it over the Queen's shoulder; and the other had presented a pistol to her bosom. Robertson, when he talked, so idly, about Bothwell's obtaining the above pardon, quoted *Paris's confession* in Goodall, ii, which confession I have shewn to be the forgery of Buchanan, and Wood; and Melvill, Mem. 154, who says, that Bothwell ruled all, at court, and brought home the banished lords, and packed up a quiet friendship with the earl of Morton. But, Melvill knew, that his friend Murray, and the Earl of Bedford, were the great agents, in obtaining the pardon, for Morton, and his associates. Even the slanderous Melvill says nothing of the *inexorableness of the Queen*, which is the mere colouring of the historian's pen: She had already pardoned Murray, and his associates: And her whole reign consisted of *plots*, and *pardons*: So, the historian had done well to have used some other word.

[m] Privy Seal Reg. xxxv, 101—2—18. Among others pardoned, on that occasion, was Mr. Archibald Douglas, parson of Douglas, a brother of the laird of Whittingham, who soon acted a very prominent part, as the confidential agent of Morton, at the Murder of Darnley.

[n] Bedford to Cecil, 30th December, from Halyards, abovementioned.

[o] *Without goodnight*, says Knox, 401. The only cause, for which conduct, besides his own wayward humour, was, probably, the offence he took, at the pardon of Morton, and his followers. Goodall, who was misled, perhaps, by Lennox's letter, 26th December 1565, instead of 1566, supposes Darnley to have remained, at Stirling till the 27th of December 1566. Robertson falsely attributes Darnley's

place: But, before he could reach that town, says Robertson, mistakingly, *he was taken dangerously ill, on the road.* The fact, undoubtedly, is, that Darnley, heedlessly, went into Glasgow, wherein the *small-pox* was extremely prevalent; and he was immediately taken, with that infectious disease. As soon as the Queen heard of her husband's being thus taken with *the small-pox*, she sent her own physician to attend upon him[p]. It is Buchanan, who says, that Darnley was poisoned; and that the Queen would not allow any physician to attend upon him. The invariable practice of this writer, to hang some slander upon every action of the Queen, who had favoured, but never injured him, is the strongest proof of the murderous guilt of Murray, and his faction; by writers, constantly, endeavouring to throw the guilt upon the innocent, from the deed doers.

The Queen, having thus paid the attention of her conjugal duty to her wayward husband, went with her retinue, on a visit to Lord Drummond; with whom she remained, till she returned to Stirling, on the 29th of December: She remained here a day, and on the 31st of December 1567, she went to Tullibardin, on a visit to Sir William Murray, the comptroller of her household. On the morrow, she returned to Stirling. And, here, she remained, till the 13th of January 1566-7. Every moment now begins to be critical; and every minuteness, and specific caution, become, necessary, for ascertaining the truth, and guarding against slander[q]. Robertson, who was

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abrupt departure to the alarm given him, by the rumour of a design to seize him; and for this rumour, the historian quotes Keith's Pref. viii, and adverts not to the date of Darnley's departure on the 24th of December: Now, the rumour was not heard till the subsequent month.

[p] Bedford, who left Edinburgh on the 6th of January, in his letter to Cecil, of the 9th of January 1566-7, stated both those facts, that Darnley had the *small-pox;* 2dly, that the Queen had sent her own physician to him. Drury, the marshal of Berwick, also wrote to Cecil of the small-pox, spreading from Glasgow.

[q] From the record it appears, that the Queen was at Drummond castle, on the

all unaware of the nature of Darnley's disease, declaims against the Queen, as defective, in *conjugal sympathies*, when she made those visits of amusement, instead of attending on her husband; without knowing, that she had sent her own physician to Darnley; and without adverting, that she had an infant to care for. Thus it is, to write history, without knowledge of facts, and still more, without the spirit of sagacity, which enables the writer, to draw the line, wisely, between falsehood, and truth.

The Queen set out from Stirling, with the Prince, for Edinburgh on the 13th of January; and remaining, during the

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28th of December. She was at Stirling on the 30th. She was at Tullibardin on the 31st, and she returned to Stirling on the 1st, of January 1566-7, where she was joined, by Bedford, who returned, from Fife, with Murray. On the 3d she prepared her answer to Elizabeth, to be carried by Bedford, who took leave of the Queen, at Stirling, on the 5th of January; and on the 6th set out, from Edinburgh, for Berwick.

Yet, Murray's Journal, with its usual perversity of slander, makes Bothwell to accompany the Queen, in all those visits: It states, that *they* returned together, on the 31st of December, to Stirling; and there remained together till the 14th of January: Now: the Privy Council Register, evinces, that Bothwell was not among the Privy Counsellors present, in council, at Stirling, on the 2d and 10th of January, Melvill's Mem. take no notice of Bothwell being with the Queen, on those visits. though he himself was present, and was sufficiently ready, with his calumnies of the Queen, in favour of Murray. Bedford takes no notice, in his letters, of the 30th of December, and 9th of January 1566-7, of Bothwell being with the Queen, at Drummond castle, and Tullibardin.

On the contrary, we know, from indisputable documents, that Bothwell, as a conspirator, had other duties to perform, than to wait upon the Queen, at Stirling, at Drummond castle, and at Tullibardin: He was far from Stirling, in the south, providing men, and means, to execute the doom of Darnley: Bothwell remained, at Dunbar castle, watching the return of Morton, from Berwick to Whittingham: The slander of Buchanan's Journal was, on this occasion, formed on the policy of the Lapwing, which, "far from her nest cries away:" So Buchanan's artifice coupled Bothwell with the Queen, to carry away observant eyes, from Bothwell's conduct, in the south, as a conspirator.

night, at Callender, came to Edinburgh, on the morrow[r]. The Queen continued to be disquieted, at Edinburgh, as she had been, at Stirling, with two rumours, which seem to have given her great uneasiness: The one was, that the King intended to crown the Prince, and to take the government on himself; and the other, of a purpose, to place the King, in ward. Both those reports, upon examination, in the Privy Council, at Stirling, were traced, from one Walker to Hiegate, the Town Clerk of Glasgow, who appears to have been a meddling fellow[s]. But, upon being examined, he denied the whole imputation. It is pretty apparent, however, that such rumours had been thrown out, by Murray's faction, in order to sound a credulous people, with regard to both: And there was another rumour, which passed to Paris; and coming from the Spanish ambassador, in a friendly manner to the Queen's ambassador, he was induced, to write to the Queen, *to double her guards.* But, what force could protect her, from her own ministers; from the machinations of Murray, and the villainy of Maitland? Yet, she could not see, that she had any thing to fear, from the villainy of the one, or the machinations of the other. In

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[r] Birrel, in his Diary, p. 6, says, that the Queen, and Prince, came from Stirling to Edinburgh on the 18th: But, she only came to Callander on that day: For there is in the Privy Seal Register a grant, at Callander on the 14th, and two more, on the same day, at Edinburgh: and, Birrel adds; "at which time, King Henry was lying sick, in Glasgow, of *the small pox;* but, *some sayed, he had gotten "poyson."* Coupling this information of Birrel, with the simple facts of Bedford, who was no favourer of the Queen; and the indifferent intimation of Drury to Cecil, *that the small pox spreadeth, from Glasgow,* the fact is, clearly, ascertained, without relying on the contemporary writers, who wrote the truth. Melvill, who knew the fact, insinuates, that Darnley was poisoned: Knox, and Buchanan, expressly, say, that he was poisoned. And Spottiswoode was such a simpleton, as to copy all this deliberate falsehood, from Buchanan. Hist. 197.

[s] The Privy Council Register of the 13th December 1564, shows that he had been complained of, by one of the baillies, for speaking slanderous words of the same baillie.

writing to her ambassador, the Archbishop of Glasgow in the height of her vexation, arising from those rumours, she speaks contemptuously of the conduct of Lennox, for whom she had done so much; and piteously of Darnley, whom she perceived, to be ever making inquisition, into her doings, while she took God, and the world, to witness, what had been always her part to him. This momentary ebullition of her discontent, Robertson, and Laing, suppose, to be a strong proof of the Queen's rooted hatred of her husband, and her disdain of his father.

But, those writers seem to know nothing of the discords of marriage, which break out, and disappear, in the same moment, without a trace; and which might be exemplified, in the conduct, and misconduct, of the Queen and her husband. We have lately seen what care she took of him, when he was taken with the small-pox. At the moment of writing that letter, on the 20th of January, she, and Darnley, had become reconciled to each other;[t] and she had even then resolved to visit him, at Glasgow, and bring him with her to Edinburgh; as soon as *he should be able to stand the cold air*, according to the intimation of Drury to Cecil[u].

After this reconcilement of the Queen, and King, she had determined to bring him herself, from Glasgow, to Edinburgh, of which she made no secret. But, there is some doubt, with regard to the time, when she departed for Glasgow, with that design. Murray's Journal, which is not famous, for its veracity, expressly, states, that she took her journey, on the 21st

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[t] Bishop Leslie, in his Defence, p. 7, says, that before she went to Glasgow, she was reconciled to her husband The Sieur Clairnault, the French envoy, who was at Edinburgh, at the time of the murder, said that the Queen, and her husband were reconciled. Nelson, who was examined before the Privy Council of England, also, said, that they were reconciled, before she went to Glasgow. [Goodall, ii. 243.] The continuator of Knox says, that they were reconciled. Hist. 454

[u] Letter, in the Paper Office.

of January 1566-7, towards Glasgow, accompanied with the Earls of Huntley, and Bothwell. Yet, is there reason to believe, from the evidence of records, that the Queen, at the soonest, did not set out, from Edinburgh, till the evening of the 24th, and perhaps, without the two Earls[x]. Yet, is it said, by Robertson, and, by others, that the Queen, while, at Glasgow, wrote certain amatory letters to Bothwell. Now, it may be observed, that there was no amatory connection, between the Queen, and Bothwell, who was gained by Murray, at the end of September 1566; who acted with him, thenceforward, as a conspirator against Darnley, and the Queen, who met Morton, about the 20th of January, at Whittingham to concert the murder, and who claimed the Queen in reward, for the murder, from the conspirators, and not from the Queen herself: Neither had he any ascendency over her: The Queen, before she went to Glasgow, was reconciled to her husband: and the Queen still remained, at Edinburgh, as we know from the records, at the date of the supposititious letters, from Glasgow. The whole history of those letters, subsequently, evince, that those letters were forged, and not found.

From Glasgow, the Queen brought her husband, in a chariot to Linlithgow, where they rested two days, and arrived at Edinburgh, on the 31st of January 1566-7[y]. The house, in which Darnley was lodged, was the mansion of the provost of the collegiate church of St. Mary, in the field, usually called

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[x] There are documents, in the Privy Seal Register, xxxvi, 44, and also in the Register of Signatures, Book ii. which were executed by the Queen, on the 22d, and 24th of January 1566-7: So that it is obvious the Queen could not have arrived, in Glasgow, till the 25th of January 1566-7. The public records of the country are, surely, better evidence of the fact, when the Queen set out, from Edinburgh, than Murray's Journal, which is an obvious forgery.

[y] Birrel, in his Diary, p. 6, says, the King and Queen came to Edinburgh, out of Glasgow, the King being carried in a chariot; on the last of January; and took his lodging in the Kirk-o-field.

the Kirk of Field, which belonged to Robert Balfour, the provost; and which had been fitted up, as an infirmary, under the direction, no doubt, of the Queen's physician. After Darnley was lodged, in this house, the Queen, frequently, attended him; and sometimes slept, in the same house herself. She, with several of the nobles, spent the evening of the 9th of February with him, and only left him at eleven o'clock; to give her presence, at an entertainment, in Holyrood-house, to two of her domesticks. At parting, she kissed her husband, and took a ring, from her own finger, which she put upon his; as a sincere tribute of her kindest affections. On the morrow, about two o'clock, in the morning, the King, with his servant Taylor, were found dead, in the adjoining garden, without any marks of violence, on their bodies; and the house blown up, with gunpowder. Thus perished the wayward Darnley, whose fortune, and whose fate, will, for ever, give him that place, in history, which his insignificance, and unkingly conduct, would have denied him.

Many rumours were instantly propagated, with regard to the persons, who deprived the King of his life, in so mysterious a manner; and the Queen's name was implicated, in the conjectures, which were indulged, by a credulous, and fanatical people. Whoever were accused, whether true, or false; and innocent persons were included, perhaps, by design: we now know, for certain, that it was Murray's faction, who murdered the King; and that Morton, Bothwell, and Maitland, were the eminent characters, who were attainted, by parliament, for the deed, though many inferior persons, indeed, and some of them innocent, were tried, and punished, for the same crime. The mystery, in which the whole transaction was involved, is satisfactory proof, that Murray's faction were the deed doers. But, the Queen, as she was not one of that faction, was not guilty; and every endeavour of Robertson, and Laing, to establish her privity to this transaction has failed. Her marriage

THE MURDER OF THE KING AND BURIAL OF TAYLOR.
From a Sketch in the Paper Office.

with Bothwell, one of the murderers, considering the fraudulence, and force, which were used to obtain her unwilling assent, is no proof of any privity, though it was intended, by the conspirators, to involve her in the guilty scene.

The Queen soon removed, from Holyrood-house, to the castle of Edinburgh, where she existed, for sometime, in apartments without the light of the sun; without air; and without comfort. The body of Darnley was embalmed, and on the evening of the 15th of February, was interred in the royal tomb, by the side of the Queen's father, James V. The ceremonies of the funeral were the fewer, says the bishop of Ross; as the great part of the Privy Council, who directed it, were protestants; and had interred their own parents, without any ceremonies[z].

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Of the Queen's conduct, after the murder of her husband.

The Queen, on the subsequent day, namely, the 11th of February 1566-7, wrote the following account of the murder to the Archbishop of Glasgow, her resident at Paris:

"Maist Rev. Fader in God, and traist counseilor, we grait "ye weil: We have receivit, this morning, your letters of the "27th of January, by your servant, Robert Dury, containing "in ane part sic advirtisement, as we find, by effect, overtrue, "albeit the succes has not altogether been sic, as the authoris "of that mischievous fact had preconceivit in their mind, and "had put it in execution, gif God, in his mercy, had not preser-"vit us, and reservit us, as we traist, to the end we may tak a

[z] Lesley's Defence, 13; Keith, 368. Buchanan's slanders, on Darnley's funeral, are flatly contradicted by Lesley's statement, and are fully confuted, by Keith, 368, 330: And Birrel's Diary, 6, shows, that there was, by the Queen's command, on the 23d of March 1566-7, a solemn masse, for the King's soul. The Queen thus showed her respect, for the memory of the deceased.

" rigorous vengeance of that mischievous deed, quhilk, or it
" sould remain unpunishit, we had rather lose life, and all.
" The matter is horrible, and sa strange, as we believe the
" like was never hard of in any country. This night past
" being the 9th of February, a little after twa houris, after
" midnight, the house quhairin the King was logit was in ane
" instant blawin in the air, he lyand sleipand in his bed, with
" sic a vehemencie, that of the haill loging, wallis, and other,
" there is nathing remainit, na, not a stane above another,
" but all either carreit far away, or dung in dross to the very
" ground stane. It mon be done be force of powder, and
" appearis, to have been a myne: Be quhome it has been
" done, or in quhat manner, it appearis not as yet. We doubt
" not bot, according to the diligence oure counsal has begun
" alreddie to use the certaintie of all sal be usit schortlie; and
" the same being discoverit, quhilk we wott God will never
" suffer to ly hid, we hope to punish the same with sic rigor,
" as sal serve, for example of this crueltie to all ages to cum.
" Allwayes, quhoever has taken this wicked interprys in hand,
" we assure ourself it was dressit alswel for us, as for the
" King; for we lay the maist part of all the last week, in that
" same loging, and was thair accompanyit with the maist
" part of the lordis, that ar, in this town, that same night,
" at midnight, and of very chance taryit not all night, be
" reason of sum mask in the abbaye; but, we believe it was
" not chance, but God to put it in our hede. We depeschit
" this berars upon the sudden, and therefor wraitis to you
" the mair schortlie. The rest of your letter, we sal answer
" at mair laser, within four or five dayis, by your owne ser-
" vant. And sua, for the present, committis you to Almightie
" God. At Edinburgh, the 11th day of Februar 1566-7."

Let this artless letter of the Queen be compared with Murray's letter, or Maitland's, or Morton's, on the same occasion; and any eye will perceive her innocence, and their guilt.

On the 15th of February 1566-7, the Queen issued a precept to the Treasurer; directing him, in her own hand, to furnish her mourning, as under, which every reader must be glad to see, as a real curiosity, from the Register-house, at Edinburgh:

Item. Of sarge of Florence to be ane goune, and ane cloik, mulis, and schuine, x elle and a half;

Item. Of chamlothe of sylk to be ane velicotte, and ane vasquine, xvii elle and half;

It. Of Ormaise taffatis to lyne the bodeis and sclevis of the goune, and velicotte iiii elle;

It. Of black pladine v. doubile elle;

It. Of treilie buccharem v elle;

It. Of Camarage to be four curges xviii elle;

It. Of smalle holen claith to be curges x elle;

Maister Robert Richartsoune, thesaurer; ze sall no^{t} faille to answer alle this aboune orders quhilk salle be allouit to zou in zour comptis keipand this our precepe, for zour varrand. Subscryvit vy^{t} our hand, at Edinburcke, the xv of Fabruar 1566.

Marie R.

The Queen, shutting herself up, in a close apartment, within Edinburgh castle, without light, or air, feeling "a world "of woe and sorrow," soon endangered her health, and would have very soon brought her life into hazard, if her physicians had not represented those circumstances of danger to the privy council, who advised her to retire into the country, for a time. The Queen saw the fitness of this advice, which suggested to the forger of Murray's journal, to misrepresent the fact, in the following manner: "They [the Queen and "Bothwell] on the 21st of February 1566-7, passed together "to Seaton; and there passed their time, merryly, together, "to the 10th of March, when Le Croc, the French ambas-"sador, persuaded her to return to Edinburgh. 10th of

" March they [the Queen and Bothwell] returned to Edin-
" burgh, by persuasion of Le Croc, where they remained till
" the 24th of the same month; earnestly trying the upsetting
" of the placards; but, never a word of the King's murder."
—Thus much then, of the slander of Buchanan, which only evinces the odious guilt of Murray's faction.

Let us, however, collate with that slander a dispatch from Sir William Drury, from Berwick of the 17th of February 1566-7 to Secretary Cecil, on the same subject. Drury had been informed, that the Queen of Scotland was come, this
" night to Dunbar: She this last night [the 16th of February]
" lay at the Lord Seyton's, accompanied, by Argyle, Huntley,
" Bothwell [he was high sheriff of this shire] Arbroath, the
" Archbishop of St. Andrews, the Lords Fleming, and Li-
" vingston, with the secretary, who followed, *amounting to a*
" *hundred people.*" [On the 23d of February, Secretary Maitland wrote, from Seyton, to Cecil, a letter of recommendation, and compliment: But, not a word of the murder.]

We thus see, that the Queen, with her court, *consisting of a hundred people*, left Edinburgh castle, and retired to the fine seat of Lord Seaton, on the 16th of February 1566-7: She appears to have remained, here, till the 7th of March. On the 8th of March, she received, in Edinburgh castle, the condolence of Elizabeth, by Henry Kyllygrew. She returned to Seaton, on the 9th of March; but she seems to have come back to Edinburgh, on the morrow. On the 19th of March, as we learn, from Birrel's Diary, the Prince was conveyed out of Edinburgh to Stirling castle; and delivered in trust, to the Earl of Mar, till he should come to the age of seventeen years: On the 21st the castle of Edinburgh was rendered to Cockburn of Skirling, by the Queen's commands, as we know from Birrel's Diary, supported, by the wardrobe record, which contains Cockburn's receipt, for the delivery of the

castle to him. On the 24th, and the 28th of March, she held two privy councils; as we know, from Keith, 374. She again returned to Seaton; and continued there, on the 5th of April. On the 9th of April, the Earl of Murray, with the Queen's leave, set out, for France; as he could not remain any longer, in Scotland, with propriety; considering his engagements, with *the conspirators*[a].

Here follows Kyllygrew's letter, from Edinburgh, on the 8th of March 1566-7, to Secretary Cecil, which is the more curious, and important; as it is written, simply, without any affectation, or sarcasm, like the epistles of Randolph[b].

Sir,

Although I trust, to be shortly with you, yet, have I thought good to write somewhat, in the meantime. I had no audience before this day [8th March 1566-7.] which was after I had dined, with my Lord of Murray, who was accompanied with my lord chancellor [Huntley] the Earl of Argyle, my Lord *Bothwell*, and the Laird of Liddington [Secretary Maitland.]

I found the Queen's majesty, in a dark chamber, so as I could not see her face; but, by her words, she seemed very doleful; and did accept my sovereign's letters, and message, in very thankful manner; as I trust, will appear, by her answer, which I hope to receive, within these two days; and I think will tend to satisfy the Queen's majesty, as much as this present can permit, not only for the matters of Ireland, but also the treaty of Leith.

Touching news, I can write no more, than is written by others. I find great suspicions, and no proof, nor appearance of apprehension: Yet, although I am made believe, I shall, or I depart hence, receive some information.

My Lord of Lennox hath sent, to request the Queen, that such persons, as were

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[a] Murray, and Bothwell, had always been enemies till the epoch of the conspiracy: On the 8th of March, Bothwell dined with Murray, twenty days after Bothwell had been placarded, as the murderer of Darnley: Here, then, is positive proof of Murray's connection with the conspirators. On the 10th of March, Morton wrote, from Aberdour, [in Fife] a letter of thanks to Cecil, and of compliment, with a view to the future, a proof of his connection with the conspiracy.

[b] The original is in the Paper Office.

named, in the bill [placard] should be taken: Answer is made him, that if he, or any, will stand to the accusation of any of them, it shall be done; but, not by virtue of the bill, or his request. I look to hear what will come from him to that point. His lordship is among his friends, beside Glasgow, where he thinketh himself safe enough, as a man of his told me.

I see no troubles at present, nor appearance thereof; but, a general misliking, among the commons, and some others, which the detestable murder of their king, a shame, as they suppose, to the whole nation. The preachers say, and pray, openly to God, that it will please him, both to reveal, and revenge it; exhorting all men to prayer, and repentance.

Your most bounden to obey,

H. Kyllygrew.

SECTION IX.

From Darnley's Murder to the Queen's Dethronement.

AS Darnley's murder was effected, by Murray's faction, the odious deed was involved in complete mystery, by the artifices of Secretary Maitland. Of course, every sort of rumour was immediately raised, with regard to the perpetrators of that shocking deed. Bothwell was, chiefly, conjectured to have been the most guilty; because Murray, and Maitland, knew, that he was destined to be the *scape-goat* of the conspirators. Morton was implicated, in the same report. Murray, though he had left Edinburgh, to visit his wife, in Fifeshire, was supposed to know, when, and by whom, this deed of horror *was to be committed.* And, though the Queen's heart was almost rent in twain, by an event, which put an end to all her prospects, after their recent reconcilement, she was slandered, both at home, and abroad, as privy to the crime.

The Queen's government offered high rewards to any one, who would discover the guilty person; Murray, Morton, and Maitland, being themselves the guilty chiefs of that odious murder. In a few days, a placard was set up, in the public places, pointing out Bothwell, and other persons, as the murderers: But, the men, who thus denounced those names, and characters, were too prudent to avow their publication[c]. A correspondence ensued, between the Queen, and Lennox,

[c] One Murray being ascertained to be the author of the placard, was obliged to abscond; as he was charged with treason.

which we may remember was thought somewhat frivolous, by the Queen's ministers; as we have seen, from Kyllygrew's letter to Cecil. This correspondence ended, however, when an order was made, by the Privy Council, on the 28th of March, for Bothwell's trial, on the 12th of April, then next[d]. Lennox, as soon as he had notice of this appointment, discovered, that it was more easy to write letters of accusation, than to adduce proofs of guilt. He now wrote to Elizabeth, and to Mary, to obtain a postponement of the trial. Elizabeth, obviously, wishing to embarrass Mary, wrote to her a letter, which arrived, by express, at Holyrood-house, early, on the morning of the day, appointed for the trial; and which coming into the power of Secretary Maitland, probably, never reached Mary's hands.[e] It is unnecessary to remark, how much such a letter was contrary to all the principles of law, and justice. The Court of Justiciary proceeded on the trial of Bothwell, notwithstanding the reasons of delay, which were stated, by Lennox's agents. Lennox himself advanced, from Glasgow, to Stirling, on his way to Edinburgh: But, here, his heart failing him, he wrote his excuses, for not attending the trial, which he had demanded, with so much perseverance. The justiciary court, plainly, consisted of Murray's *friends*. Morton, one of the guilty conspirators, supported Bothwell, on one hand, and Maitland, who was equally guilty, supported him on the other hand. There was no evidence given against Bothwell: as the prosecutor did not appear: And, he was, necessarily, acquitted of the crime, whereof he was guilty[f]. But, it was an essential

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[d] Keith, 373.

[e] See the letter of Drury to Cecil, on the subject, which is in the Paper Office.

[f] Camden says, the sole concern of the complotters was to get Bothwell cleared of the guilt of the King's murder. The Bishop of Ross, in his *Defence*, concurs in this. Bellforest, the author of *Innocence de Marie*, who was well informed, by the Archbishop of Glasgow, says, the Earl of Morton, attended Bothwell, in the pannel. Drury's letter to Cecil, 15th Apr. 1567, in the Paper Office, in the document

part of the plot, that Bothwell should be saved harmless, in order to effect ulterior measures against the Queen, in favour of Murray.

In the meantime, the Queen, on the 10th of March, returned from Seaton to Edinburgh, where she remained, till the 18th of April; daily engaged in the public business. On that day, she left Edinburgh, for Dunbar, where she remained on the 2d and 3d of April; spent the three subsequent days, at Seaton;[g] and returned to Edinburgh, on the 7th of April, where she probably remained till the meeting of Parliament. Murray, her minister, who went out of the way, when the King was to be murdered; soon returned from Fife to Edinburgh, where he continued to act, in the national affairs, with Secretary Maitland, for his instrument, and countenancing Bothwell, as his associate. On the 9th of April, having obtained the Queen's permission, Murray set out, from Edinburgh, to France; taking his journey through England. Abroad, he seems to have had no business; but, at home, he had much business, critical, as the moment was; and speedily

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No. 1, annexed to Bothwell's Memoirs, and proves, that Maitland was equally zealous, for Bothwell. Murray, equally countenanced that guilty character, though not so openly. We have seen, from Kyllygrew's letter, that Murray entertained Bothwell, at his table, several weeks, after Bothwell had been placarded, as the murderer; and after Lennox had called, for his trial.

[g] It was at Seaton, on the 5th of April 1567, that the conspirators affirm, the Queen entered into a regular contract of marriage, with Bothwell, who was then a married man; this same contract, as the plotters, also, affirm, was written, by the chancellor, Earl of Huntley, the brother of Bothwell's wife. Without being a lawyer, Huntley knew, that such a contract of marriage was unlawful; and, also, injurious to his sister. [Anderson's Col. ii. 93]. And it is in the true style of Buchanan, and Murray's forgeries, most outrageous, and improbable, that a queen would enter into a contract of marriage with a married man. The subsequent proceedings, on the 19-20th of April, of several nobles, and prelates, recommending Bothwell, as the fittest husband for the Queen, shows this engagement of marriage to be a forgery. Keith, 380.

as the Parliament was to meet. Every circumstance, which is connected with Murray, from the 30th of September, evinces, that he was the head of the conspiracy of his faction, which had murdered the King, though he kept himself under cover, and pushed Bothwell forward, as his cat's-paw.

In the midst of those shocking scenes, a Parliament assembled, in Edinburgh, on the 14th of April, consisting of the constituted members,[h] They were met, by the Queen's commissioners, in the accustomed manner. On the 16th the Queen, personally, appeared in Parliament, when the committee of articles was chosen[i]. There seems to have been a previous concert, that this convention should, from its proceedings, be deemed a healing Parliament, as Murray, and his faction, considering the part they were acting, had a strong interest to conciliate. Of four and twenty acts, which were then passed, the greatest number consisted of repeals of forfeitures, or confirmations of rights; showing in their enactments, the wretched manners of a wretched age. Accusations, by placards, were prohibited, in future, with an allusion to the late charges against Bothwell[k]. One act, on the subject of religion, during a religious age, is memorable. The same Queen, who is charged, by Robertson, with attempting to suppress the reformed discipline, with the aid of the bishops, passed a law; *renouncing* all *foreign jurisdiction*, in ecclesiastical affairs; giving toleration to all her

[h] Keith, 378.

[i] Parl. Rec. 749-50. Bothwell, on that occasion, carried the sceptre before the Queen; a circumstance this, which has given rise to calumnious remark; as if the sceptre might not have been placed in his hand, by Secretary Maitland, as a cause of censure. In the meantime, Lennox departed, for England, by the west sea; thinking himself no longer safe, in Scotland; without recollecting, that he had been one of the chief conspirators, for the assassination of Rizzio, which endangered the Queen's life.

[k] See it in Keith, 380: It seems to have been torn out of the Parliament record.

subjects to worship God, in their own way; and engaging to give some additional privileges: By the first clause, the papal jurisdiction was renounced, by the second, a toleration was established; and by the third, some other points were promised, which might have led to *a liturgy*, which was the only thing wanting, to form a complete reformation, in a parliamentary mode[l]. Yet, are there writers, so besotted with prejudice, as to say, that nothing was done, in the Parliament of April 1567, concerning religion. It was, very generally, believed, during those credulous times, that this Parliament had confirmed the acquittal of Bothwell: But, the silence of the Parliamentary record shows, sufficiently, that this assumption must be false: There was, indeed, an act of confirmation of Bothwell's lands, and offices, as such acts were passed to Murray, and others, arising out of the many forfeitures of those times; yet, it contains not any clause, confirming his acquittal. Those confirmations, however, of defective titles, induced such profligate characters, as Morton, and Murray, to attack the Queen, with more boldness.

After the rising of Parliament, in which Bothwell seems to have been an assiduous attendant, a very remarkable scene ensued. Morton, and Maitland, solicited, and obtained, from the several lords of Murray's faction,[m] and from eight bishops, a declaration in writing; avowing their belief of Bothwell's innocence; and recommending Bothwell, though a married man, as the fittest husband, for the Queen. This is, undoubtedly, one of the most atrocious transactions, that history has recorded; though it was, certainly, effected by Murray's agents, Morton, and Maitland, in pursuance of one of the points, in this notorious plot, that Bothwell, for murdering the King, should have the widowed Queen, in reward[n]. The

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[l] Keith, 379; and the Acta Parliamentorum, ii, 547.

[m] Keith, 383; App. 118. [n] Ib. 380—3.

disgrace of this measure was somewhat felt: And in order to assuage that sensation, a document was forged, containing the Queen's previous assent, to the signing of that declaration: Yet, the purpose of the day being obtained, this forgery was heard of never more: But, its appearance, on such an occasion, evinces sufficiently the source, from whence it proceeded: Such a statesman, as Secretary Maitland, could alone have conceived such a forgery, for such a purpose.

The Queen, on the 21st of April, set out, with her usual attendants to visit her son, at Stirling:[o] and, returning towards Edinburgh, on the 24th of the same month, was seized, by Bothwell, at the head of 800 horsemen, near the Foulbriggs: And carried, forcibly, with Huntley, then Chancellor, Secretary Maitland, Sir James Melvill, and other attendants, to Dunbar castle. He there boasted, as we learn, from Melvill, and Lesley, that he would marry the Queen, who would, or who would not; yea, whether she herself would, or not. To act, and speak thus, Bothwell was emboldened, not only by his reliance on the engagement of his complotters; but, by the declaration of so many peers, and prelates, that they would defend his marriage. He now coerced the Queen, till she agreed to marry him[p]. The Queen afterwards complained,

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[o] The Queen went to visit the Prince, 21st of April, says Birrel: to *see her son;* Knox, 403; to visit her son, says Spottiswoode 202: Then comes Buchanan [l. xviii.] with his slander, which he pushes beyond the limits of credibility, "that Both-"well wishing to get the Prince into his hands, the Queen herself undertook the "task, and went to Stirling, to endeavour to get the child out of the Earl of Mar's "possession: But, Mar suspecting her purpose, shewed her the Prince, but would "not let him be in her power." Such outrageous slander, only, proves the guilt of Murray, which this slander was intended to protect, as well as to criminate the Queen.

[p] The act of Privy Council of the 21st of July 1567, with Morton, at the head of it, asserts, that after Bothwell had arrested the Queen's person, and carried her captive to Dunbar, he constrained her, being in his bondage, to consent to marry him. Anderson's Col. i. 142. Theact, attainting Bothwell, in the Parliament of

feelingly, that while she remained, under his thraldom, in the castle of Dunbar, not a sword was drawn for her relief; but, after her marriage with him, owing to those causes, a thousand swords were drawn, to drive him, from the country, and to dethrone her. This intimation shews, sufficiently, that the unhappy Queen had been drawn, by matchless artifice, and force, into a snare, from which she could not escape[q].

It is easy to see, that it was Murray's faction, which brought the Queen into that snare, if we will only attend to a few circumstances. The King's murder was plainly committed, by Murray's faction, with Bothwell, for its *cat's-paw*. Murray retired, from Scotland, to France, when he ought, as principal minister, to have remained, to protect the Queen, and her kingdom, from such hazards, and snares. Bothwell, when tried, was acquitted, by Murray's faction, with Morton, and Maitland, two of his complotters, for Murray's agents. Morton, and Maitland, acting, as such agents, obtained the declaration of the peers, and prelates, of the 20th of April, in favour of Bothwell, which emboldened him, and deluded her. Maitland

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December 1567, recites three facts, as the grounds thereof: 1. He had, treasonously, arrested the Queen's person; (2dly) that he had carried her, by force, to Dunbar castle; (3dly) that he had there coerced her till she agreed to marry him. Acta Parl. iii. 6—8. The forfeiture of Bothwell, for those treasonable acts, is a parliamentary declaration of the Queen's innocence; because the facts recited being true, she could not be guilty.

[q] The act of privy council of the 21st of July just mentioned, and the act of Parliament, attainting Bothwell, demonstrate, that the two contracts of marriage, mentioned by Goodall, 125; ii. 54—5, and, also, the letters from Stirling, alluding to the Queen's seizure, are forgeries; because the facts, which are recorded, by those acts, reprobate those supposititious documents, as false. Now, the facts, and the falsehoods, cannot stand together. And, we must remember the maxim of jurisprudence, as well as of experience, that he, or they, who are detected in forgery, must ever after be regarded with a jealous eye; as detected fraudulence operates, as a gangrene, which spreads itself over the whole transactions of such fraudulent persons.

who knew the whole details of the conspiracy, was plainly in the secret of the Queen's arrestment, and coercion; attending upon her the while, to give her bad, not salutary, advice[r].

The dye of the Scotish Queen was now cast. Amidst many difficulties, while under Bothwell's thraldom, and Maitland's delusion, she chose to marry that miscreant, as the least difficulty[s]. She was in the fangs of Murray's faction; and whatever had been her choice, on that occasion, the same faction had conducted her to her ruin. Bothwell brought the Queen to Edinburgh castle, on the 29th of April 1567. That odious man, immediately, commenced an action of divorce against his wife: and, she, with equal alacrity, brought a suit, for her divorce, against her husband. Those several actions of divorce, as there was no strong objections, were soon decided[t]. The Queen was induced to give a written assent to the odious declaration of the peers, and prelates, before mentioned[u]. The banns of marriage were now published, by John Craig, one of the Edinburgh ministers, though with some reluctance[v]. On the 12th of May, she was brought into the court of session; and made a declaration of her good mind towards Bothwell[w]. She created him Duke of Orkney. And on the 14th of May 1567, she entered into a formal contract of marriage with the Duke of Orkney, which was witnessed, by her officers of state, and other respectable persons[x]. After all those previous steps, on Thursday the 15th of May 1567, the Queen was married to the Duke of Orkney, by the bishop of Orkney, according to the new form, in the great hall of the palace, after sermon, and

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[r] When, in Dunbar castle, with the Queen, Maitland reprehended Sir James Melvill, for advising her not to marry Bothwell. Mem. 78-9-80.

[s] See what Melvill says of the Queen's inducement, in Mem. p. 80; and Lesley's Defence, 1569, p. 168, which concurs, though in different words.

[t] Keith, 383. [u] Ib. 384. [v] Id. [w] Ib. 385.

[x] See the real contract of marriage, in Goodall, ii. 57, which was registered, in the records.

not in the chapel, as her marriage with Darnley had been[y]. She now sent envoys to England, and to France, in order to communicate her marriage, and the reasons thereof: but, not the true ones, which are to be found, in the act of Parliament, attainting Bothwell[z]. Yet, such an enforced marriage could not be happy: and scarcely a day passed, without brutish conduct on his part, and many a tear, on her's[a].

A great change was now effected by the Queen's marriage to Bothwell. Murray's faction had, by this event, to which they had conducted her step by step, obtained one of the great points in their plot; as they had engaged to Bothwell, their cat's-paw, that he should have the Queen, in reward: And, while that faction made this stipulation, they knew, that it would involve Bothwell, and the Queen, in ruin; because, it would connect the Queen with the murderer of her husband; and supply matter of charge against both[b].

A new conspiracy was now formed; to carry into full effect what had been left undone, by the old; that is, the old conspirators formed a new plot, to build another revolution upon the old grounds: Morton, and Maitland, were the chief, and active members of the former conspiracy, so were they of this; and as Murray was the concealed partner, but real gainer, by

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[y] Keith, 386.

[z] The most forcible reasons with the Queen were those, which are mentioned, in Melvill's Mem. p. 80, and in Lesley's Defence, p. 16. b.

[a] Keith, 386; Melvill's Mem. 80-1.

[b] This was no sooner done, that is, the marriage consummated, saith Spottiswoode, "than divers, that had set their hands and seals to the marriage, fell now openly "to condemn it; as that, which ministered too just a suspicion, that she was "consenting to the death of the King, her husband." [Hist. 203.] "By means "of this marriage with Bothwell, [saith Camden, Hist. 94.] the suspicion grew "strong amongst all men, that the Queen was privy to the murder of the King: "Which suspicion, the conspirators increased, by sending letters all about; and "in *secret meetings*, at Dunkeld, they presently conspired the deposing of the "Queen, and the destruction of Bothwell."

the former, so was he chief in this, though he was, in France, and obtained, by it, the vice-regal chair, the great object of all his aims. All the associated nobles, except Athol,[c] and Mar,[d] subscribed the writing, of the 19th-20th of April; declaring, Bothwell, fairly, and legally, acquitted; and recommending him, as the properest husband for the Queen: And, yet, this marriage was no sooner effected, than they denounced Bothwell, as the King's murderer, and held forth the Queen's marriage, with him, as a proof, that she was privy to the murder[e].

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[c] Goodall, ii. 361. On the murder of Darnley, Athol retired to his castle of Dunkeld, where he remained till he joined the new association at Stirling. Knox, 640. Athol, who hated Bothwell, was instigated, by Secretary Maitland, to join this new conspiracy.

[d] Mar was not at Edinburgh, when the declaration was signed: He had the infant prince, in his charge, within Stirling castle.

[e] After the conspirators had obtained the Queen's person, and imprisoned her, they new-modelled those charges against her, which they themselves had created, by forcing this marriage upon her. Goodall, ii. 64-7, and 207. In answer to those charges, the Queen's commissioners, at York, in 1568, averred, that she had never any knowledge of the guilt of Bothwell, or any privity in his crimes; and that none of her subjects, nor any of the rebels themselves, came to her, like true subjects, to inform her of Bothwell's guilt, and warn her against her marriage with him, which had they done, she never would have so acted: She only knew, from the public proceedings, that Bothwell had been acquitted, by an assize of his peers, and this acquittal had been ratified, in Parliament; and some of the peers, and prelates, had recommended Bothwell to her, as the most proper husband, and solicited her to accomplish the marriage, as their writings, which were shown to her, can testify. [Goodall, ii. 342, and 163-4.] It is remarkable that, through the whole of their proceedings, either as rebels in Scotland, or commissioners, in England, Murray, Morton, and Maitland, who were conspirators with Bothwell, in the murder of her husband, never once stated, that they informed the Queen of his guilt, before her marriage, though they were her ministers, and Murray himself was present in her counsels, and her confidential adviser, after the murder, for two months, and even caressed Bothwell, till he went to France. But, the strongest fact is, that Secretary Maitland, the great contriver, and conductor of every conspiracy, remained about the Queen's person, not to give her good advice, but to delude her, and keep good advice, from her. [Ib. 94.] Murray's faction

Like the *foul fiend*, they tempted, and deluded; and then, betrayed, and accused their sovereign.

Whatever the avowed objects of the conspirators may have been; their real object was, undoubtedly, from the very commencement of their association, to dethrone the Queen, and to crown her infant son. This object is very explicitly avowed, by their confidential agent, Sir James Melvill; as it had been thrown out to the vulgar, as early as the baptism of the Prince; because a Regent would, in such case, be necessary. In negociating with Sir James Balfour, to betray his trust, in keeping the castle, for the conspirators, Melvill said this negociation took place, after the secret meeting of the rebel lords, at Stirling, where they signed *the writing*, and *before* they assembled to take the field. Balfour listening to Melvill's arguments agreed, to hold the castle, for the conspirators and the Prince. This agreement of Balfour was thought sufficient, to restrain the present popular emotion, till the nobles might convene to pursue the murderers, and to crown the Prince; as they had already concluded, at a *secret meeting among themselves*, which was not kept so privately, but, that one of the lords advised the Earl of Bothwell[f]. Such then was the concurrence of contemporary authors, with regard to the real motives, and *secret meetings* of the new confederacy of Murray's faction.

The series of their proceedings, for obtaining their ends, of

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forced her to marry Bothwell; and then rebelled against her, because she had married him, by their artifice, and coercion.

[f] Melvill's Mem. 81-2-3. The contemporary History of James VI. after stating, the Queen's marriage, on the 15th of May, says that, "certain of the nobility mis-"liking the marriage, *dealt secretly*, with others of the best sort, to make a fac-"tion, pretending thereby, to set the Queen, at liberty, and to put Bothwell to a "trial, for the suspected murder, although their intention was, rather to seek "their own authority, by uproar, and rebellion, and to be exalted." Hist. Ja. VI. 15,16.

dethroneing the Queen, and crowning her son, appear to have been as follows: Immediately on the solemnization of the Queen's marriage, on the 15th of May, they spread their rumours, they disseminated their calumnies, they dispatched their letters to their partizans. 2dly. They assembled in a *secret* meeting, at Stirling, between the 20th and the 26th of May, when they resolved to dethrone the Queen, and to crown her infant son, who was not a twelve month old; and to these ends, they entered into a written agreement, which they severally signed[g]. 3dly. They resolved to bring their forces into the field, early, in June: Those on the north of the Forth, and in the west, to rendezvous at Stirling; from whence they were to march forward, and meet the forces of Morton, Home, and others, from the southward, at Liberton, in Mid Lothian, the place of general meeting, about the 8th or 9th of June; and with this force, they intended to surprise the Queen, and Bothwell, and to seize the capital, the castle having been already secured, by intrigue.

Meantime, the Queen, far from affecting, on her late marriage, to rule, or to dictate, put the whole of her government into the hands of the nobles. On the 16th, the 17th, and the 22d, after swearing in new members, the whole Privy Council was arranged into divisions, which were to act, by turns, in rotation, as had been done, in the most troublous times; in the minority of James V, and as had been practised, by herself, in 1562[h]. At the same time, the Queen was induced to issue a proclamation; declaring all writings, for permitting papists, to exercise their religion, to be recalled; she not being

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[g] Knox, 406, and Spottiswoode, 204, expressly, say, that the insurgent nobles made a *bond*, [a *writing*,] to defend the young Prince, who was not attacked; but, who was now made a stalking horse, for the ruin of his mother.

[h] Keith, 387; Spottiswoode, 204, in which the details may be seen, and the names of the nobles, who were to govern in the particular quarters of the year.

inclined, to violate the proclamation, issued by her, soon after her arrival, and often since, in favour of the religion[i]. Such, then, were the Queen's acts, soon after her marriage, which shew, sufficiently, that she was not then in thraldom; and that her measures, considering the state of the country, were salutary: But, she courted popularity, in vain, while the hearts of the people were turned against her, and Murray's faction had, secretly, resolved, to dethrone her, and to crown her son; as the series of their actions evince, though Knox, Buchanan, and Spottiswoode, are silent, with regard to the *private regulations* of the noble insurgents, with Morton, and Maitland, two of the principal murderers of the late King.

The Queen, and her councils, taking into their consideration the disorders of the borders, issued a proclamation; commanding all her people, in the more southern shires, to assemble, at Melros, on the 15th of June, with fifteen days provision; to proceed with the Queen, and her lieutenant, her husband, against the rebellious borderers[k]. It was immediately, rumoured, by the insurgents, that this force, which was directed, to assemble on the Tweed, was not intended against the borderders, but to take the Prince, from the Earl of Mar's charge in Stirling castle. Such was the credulity of the people, in such an age, of censoriousness, and calumniation, it was believed, that a force, collected on the Tweed, was to attack Stirling castle, in an opposite quarter[l]. Knox is express upon the point, that a force, which was marched into the south, was clearly intended to besiege Stirling castle, which is so far northward, from the Tweed. Buchanan, and Hume, the historian of the Douglasses, rather laugh at this absurd rumour; and mention circumstances, which evince, that the object assigned was the true design: The Queen endeavoured

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[i] Spottiswoode, 204. [k] Keith, 325. [l] Spottiswoode, 205.

by a fresh proclamation, on the 4th of June, to disabuse the credulous; she now avowed her affections for her people; disclaimed any wish, to innovate upon the established laws; and hoped, that she had placed her son, in such safe hands, that the security of his person, and the cultivation of his mind, need not be doubted, to whom those charges are committed, according to the ancient practice[m]. But, such declarations were not much regarded. The Queen, and Bothwell, from what they heard, thought it prudent to retire from Holyrood-house, on the 6th of June, to Borthwick castle, about eight miles, south-east of Edinburgh. And the insurgents being more forward, with their forces, surrounded Borthwick castle, where the Queen and Bothwell lay; expecting to bring the insurrection to a speedy issue: But, Bothwell easily effected his escape; and after him, the Queen, disguised in man's apparel, fled to Dunbar castle. The insurgents now countermarched upon Edinburgh, which, as it was feebly defended, was easily entered, while the townsmen favoured their enterprize.

This success seems to have induced the insurgents to assume the powers of government. They issued a proclamation, on the 11th of June; stating with their usual falsehood, and disingenuity, that the Queen being detained in captivity, was neither able to govern her realm, nor to try the murder of her husband, the nobility, and council, command all the subjects, and the citizens of Edinburgh to assist, in delivering the Queen, in preserving the Prince, and in punishing the murderers of the King: They, moreover, commanded the lords of session to sit, notwithstanding the present enterprize, under the pain of being deemed the murderers of the King. Had the nobles, and council, come thus forward a month sooner, there had been some sense, and some spirit, in their proceeding: But, the Queen was not, at present, in captivity; she was not disabled

[m] Keith, 396.

from governing her realm, as we have seen; and the supposed murderer of her husband had been tried and acquitted, by the chiefs of the insurgents; while the Prince was in their own keeping. Had the chiefs of the law arrested the principal insurgents, they had immortalized themselves: But, alas! *the Scots*,—wha had wi' Wallace bled, were now no more.

The insurgents, after stating the same motives, on the 12th of June, commanded all the Queen's people, within Edinburgh to be ready to join their standard, under the pain of being deemed murderers of the King. This was done, by Morton, the leader of the insurgents, and one of the principal assassins of Darnley: But, the citizens, who were not much affected, by such proclamations, joined the standard of insurgency, very slowly. The corporation of Edinburgh sent a deputation to the Queen, who endeavoured to excuse the city, for admitting the nobility, and council[n]. In aid of those proclamations, sundry libels, both in prose, and rhyme, were published, "to move the hearts of the people:"[o] Yet, the inhabitants were not much moved, and did not join the insurrection, with any alacrity; and many of the nobles were adverse, and some of them neutral[p]. The insurgents were ill provided, with arms, and ammunition. From all those causes, the chiefs of the conspiracy, began to doubt the success of their cause, and even had thoughts of dissolving their association, and armaments; they would have certainly dispersed, if the Queen had remained a few days longer, at Dunbar[q].

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[n] Keith, 399.

[o] Melvill's Mem. 82.

[p] Knox, 407; Spottiswoode, 205; and Buchanan admits, "that the *vindicators* "*of liberty* were involved, in great difficulties, owing to the coldness of the vul-"gar." Lib. xviii.

[q] Knox, 408; Buchanan, lib. xviii.; Spottiswoode, 205. The only addition, which the insurgents appear to have received, in consequence of their publications, was 200 harquebusiers, that were furnished, by the corporation of Edinburgh. Keith, 400, note (a).

After the Queen retired to Dunbar castle, which the insurgents, wanting artillery, and ammunition, could not have taken, she issued, on the 12th of June, proclamations; calling out her subjects, in the adjacent countries: And great numbers, from Lothian, and the Merse, came speedily to her assistance; so that she mustered, at the end of two days, two thousand fighting men[r]. With these, she imprudently resolved to take the field. She had every thing to gain, from a few days delay, and nothing to gain from rashness: If, in the mean time, she had avowed her design, to bring to speedy justice the murderers of her late husband; particularly the Earl of Morton, and Secretary Maitland, as two of the chief murderers, she would have abashed them, and gained her many friends: But, Bothwell was but a weak man, and the Queen was not a manly woman: thus of course, they were incapable of taking strong measures, and assuming vigorous acting. On the 14th of June she marched out, with a little army, towards Edinburgh, and halted at Gladsmoor[s]. Here, a proclamation was read, at the head of her army: Exposing the professions of the insurgents, which were untrue, and hypocritical: Showing that her late marriage had been contracted, and solemnized, with the consent, and persuasions of the chiefs of the insurgents, as their writings testify: asserting that though they affected to fear for the safety of her son, who was in their own possession; yet, was their only object, to overthrow her, and her posterity, that they themselves might rule, without controul: Stating that necessity had forced her to take arms, for her own defence, in the hope of having the support of all her subjects: And engaging, finally, to recompense their valourous services, with the lands of the insurgents[t]. The

[r] Birrel; Beaton's letter; Spottiswoode, 205, says mistakingly, that she had double of that number.

[s] Birrel, 10; Calderwood's MS.; Hume's Hist. of the Douglasses, 295.

[t] Spottiswoode, 206; Hist. of K. James VI.; and Calderwood's MS.

Queen lay at Seaton, on the 14th of June; while her army was quartered in the adjacent villages.

Intelligence of the Queen's movements reached Edinburgh, before midnight. The insurgents, instantly, marched out to Restalrig, where they rested till the morning. Early, on Sunday morning, the 15th of June, they marched forward to Musselburg, where they refreshed themselves: And, hearing that the Queen, with her army, had marched forward to Carberyhill, where she took post, the insurgents marched out of Musselburg, and arranged themselves in two divisions before her; the Earl of Morton commanding the first; and the Earl of Athol the second[u].

While the two armies stood thus opposed to each other, the aged Le Croc, the French ambassador, advanced to the chief insurgents, and endeavoured to effect an accommodation. He assured them, on the part of the Queen, that she was desirous of preventing bloodshed, and wished for peace; that, to effect these objects, she would grant them pardons, and declare a general oblivion of what had been done; and, that she faithfully promised, they should be all indemnified, for taking arms against her[v]. To these conciliatory offers, Morton, in the name of the chiefs, made answer: That they had taken arms, not against the Queen; but, against the murderer of the King, whom, if she would deliver to punishment, or put him, from her company, she should find nothing more desired, by them, and by all her other subjects, than to continue their dutiful obedience; but, without those conditions, no peace could be made: and Glencairn, one of the most corrupt, and fanatic of men, added, with his usual baseness: "That they were not "come into the field, to ask pardon, for what they had done; "but, rather to give pardon to those, that have offended[w]."

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[u] Birrel, 10; Knox, 408; Spottiswoode, 206. [v] Buchanan, lib. xviii.

[w] Knox, 409; Spottiswoode, 207: Buchanan says, Glencairn added the last part of the answer of the nobles.

The French ambassador, from the manner, and the matter of this answer, perceiving, that his efforts would be exerted, in vain, took leave of the Queen, and withdrew to Edinburgh[x].

Bothwell now sent a herald to the adverse camp; offering to prove his innocence, by single combat. James Murray, who had placarded Bothwell, and his elder brother, the comptroller of the Queen's household, offered, successively, to accept the challenge: But, Bothwell objected to both; as inferior to him in rank[y]. Bothwell now challenged Morton, by name, who is said to have accepted the challenge, and appointed the weapons to be two handed swords, and the conflict to be on foot. Lord Lindsay now stepped out; and begged of Morton to be allowed the honour of fighting, for the innocence of Morton, and the guilt of Bothwell. Morton readily assented:[z] But, the Queen is said to have commanded both, to desist[a]. The proper battle had been, between Bothwell and Morton, two of the convicted murderers of the King; and the best consummation had been, if they had killed one another, as two of the most guilty men on earth.

The Queen now sent a herald to the opposite camp, desiring, that the laird of Grange, the best soldier, in Scotland, might be sent to her; in order to confer with their sovereign, on terms of accommodation. Grange waited on the Queen, fully authorized, by the chiefs, to adopt some reconcilement. He proposed, in their names, that Bothwell, being suspected of Darnley's murder, *should pass off the field,* until the cause might be tried; and that the Queen might pass over to them, and use the counsel of her nobles, and they, in return, would honour, serve, and obey her majesty, as their sovereign. To this, the Queen readily assented, upon their promise of obe-

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[x] Keith, 401. [y] Knox, 409; Spottiswoode, 209.

[z] Godscroft, 277-8. The challenge of Morton, by Bothwell, is smothered by Knox, Buchanan, and Spottiswoode. [a] Id.

THE QUEENS SURRENDER AT CABBERRY HILL.

dience: And *Grange*, thereupon, *took Bothwell, by the hand*, and desired him to depart; promising that no one should oppose, or follow him; and thus, by their own consent, Bothwell passed away[b]. The Queen then went over, with Grange to the adverse army; and when she joined them, Morton said to her, with great reverence, "Madam, here is the place, "where your grace should be; and we will honour, serve, and "obey you, as ever the nobility of this realm did any of your "progenitors before:" And they then ratified the promise, which had been made, on their behalves to the Queen, by Grange[c].

The first act of Morton, and his associated nobles, was an act of perfidy. They violated Grange's promises, and their own engagements. They immediately treated the Queen, as a captive. They conducted her, at seven o'clock, in the evening, not to her palace of Holyrood-house; but carried her through the streets of Edinburgh, covered with dust, and bedewed with tears; to the Provost's house, unpitied by the high, and insulted by the low, with a banner of white taffety displayed before her watery eyes, on which was painted the strangled King, and the young Prince, on his knees, crying out: "Judge, "and avenge my cause, Oh Lord[d]." She was lodged, in the

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[b] Camden, 94, says, they [the nobles in arms, to bring him to justice] gave Bothwell secret notice, to provide for himself, by flight, and this, for no other purpose, but least he being apprehended, should reveal the whole plot; and that they [having obtained the Queen's person] might allege his flight, as an argument, to charge the Queen, with her privity to the King's death. This representation is unquestionably true; as the events demonstrated.

[c] The account of this transaction, by Murray, and his associates, is in Goodall, ii. 145. The reply, and true declaration of the Queen's commissioners, to the answer of the Earl of Murray, and his adherents; wherein is given a most explicit account of this agreement. Ib. 164-5. And, compare with this, Melvill's relation, Mem. 83. The account, in Knox, Buchanan, and Spottiswoode, is more imperfect, and grossly misrepresented.

[d] Birrel's Diary, 10; Melvill; Buchanan.

Provost's house, for the night, where she found little repose; owing to the yells of the populace; but, perhaps, more from recollections of her misery, inflicted by the continual perfidy of nobles, who had no religion, or morals, no honour, or good faith; and if she had any consolation, it arose from her consciousness of innocence, though she felt her imprudence, in trusting to the promises of nobles, whose perfidy had deceived her.

In the morning of the 16th of June, the first display, which the Queen's weary eyes beheld, from the windows of her prison, was the same banner that afflicted her, with so many feelings. It was the lower orders, who thus found a pleasure in offering insult to her dignity. The craftsmen, and citizens, who had been deluded, by the pretences of perfidy, of a design to relieve the Queen from thraldom, felt indignant, at her imprisonment. They were preparing to rescue her, from insult, and to free her from imprisonment: But, they were again deluded, by the falsehood, and fraud, of the insurgent nobles, who promised to restore her to freedom, and her state: The insurgent nobles, accordingly removed her in the evening, from the city to Holyrood-house, which pacified the citizens, though she was not restored[e] to her freedom, and state.

While the Queen was confined, in the city, and subject to insult, she clearly perceived, that the associated nobles had no intention to perform their engagements. She sent her unworthy secretary of state, the cause of all her woes, to request of those, who had usurped her government, to convene the estates of the realm; as she was willing to submit to their determination, she being present, and heard. But, this reasonable desire was rejected, by nobles, whose object, from the origin of the insurrection, had merely been, to betray, and dethrone her[f].

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[e] Hist. K. Ja. VI. 20-21; Pennycuik's Hist. of the Blue Blanket, 58.

[f] The above facts appear, from the Queen's instructions to her commissioners

These purposes of the insurgents soon appeared to every eye. During the same evening, in which she was removed, from the city, to Holyrood-house, they sent her prisoner, to the castle of Lochleven, the house of William Douglas, the brother uterine of Murray, and the presumptive heir of Morton[g]. She was entrusted to the charge of the lords Ruthven, and Lindsay, who conveyed the captive Queen, in the night, in disguised apparel, and attended, by an armed force[h]. This rebellious act was, directly, inconsistent with all their former

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29th September 1568. Goodall, ii. 343; and the reply of her commissioners to Murray's answer. Ib. 163. The Bishop of Ross, in *his Defence* of the Queen, says, that she "perceiving to what end those matters tended, most pitifully cried; "and called upon the nobles to remember their late promise, or the least, that she "might be brought before the council; offering her cause to the decision of the "estates: But, God knoweth, all in vain: For, they had now obtained their prey."

[g] The warrant of commitment of the Queen to Lochlevin castle is published in Laing's App. ii. 116, from Dr. Gray's collections, relating to the Queen of Scots. There is in it perfidy, and falshood; but no cause, for the commitment, and detention of the Queen. It is signed, by the Earls of Morton, Athol, Glencairn, Mar, and by the lords, Sempil, Ochiltree, and Grahame, who was a youth, under age: And those six nobles assumed to do what all the nobles had no right to do; after pretences the most insidious, actions the most traitorous, and conduct, perfidious even beyond their usual perfidy: It must always be remembered, that Morton died on the block of shame, for the King's murder; yet, was, on that occasion, the leader of an insurrection, for punishing the King's murderers.

[h] Hist. K. Ja. VI. 21. Spottiswoode, 207; Goodall, ii. 165-6; Lesley's Defence. Robertson says, mistakingly, that he to whom Lochleven belonged, was a near relation of Morton's, and had married Murray's mother. Hist. i. 448. In this last position he is mistaken. It was, the father of William, Sir Robert Douglas of Lochleven, who married Murray's mother, one of the mistresses of James V.: And, the same William Douglas was the eldest son of that marriage; and became Laird of Lochleven, when his father fell, on Pinkiefield, in 1547: Now, this William Douglas was placed, by Morton, the second person, in the charter of entail, and which he obtained from the Queen of the earldom of Morton, on the 17th October 1564. Parl. Rec. 764. And upon the death of Morton's nephew, the Earl of Angus, in 1588, William Douglas of Lochleven succeeded to the earldom of Morton.

professions, from the commencement of their insurrection; as one of their leading objects, constantly, was, to liberate the Queen, from the thraldom of Bothwell. It was directly contrary to their engagements, when she agreed to join them, on their promise to receive, as their Queen, and obey her, as their sovereign. It was also adverse to the assurance of freedom, which they gave her, during the same day, which pacified the indignant citizens. But, the insurgent nobles were all pretences, all perfidy, all practices of the basest, and most treasonous kind.

On the commitment of the Queen, to Lochleven castle, without a cause, it became necessary, to find some new pretext, for such an apparent violation of all their proclamations, which avowed their great object to be, the liberation of the Queen from Bothwell: They owed this explanation to the public, and to some of their associates, who were not complete villains. On the preceding day, the 15th of June, Grange had settled with the Queen the terms of agreement, on which she would leave Bothwell, for the insurgents; and which Morton, the chief, had ratified, in the name of the whole. A letter was now produced, purporting to be an epistle, from the Queen to Bothwell, on the night of her coming to Edinburgh: Morton had, probably, demanded some expedient of Secretary Maitland, who had the pen of forgery always, in his hand. The secretary now produced a supposed letter, from the Queen, to Bothwell, in which she is made to call him her dear heart, whom she would never abandon[i]. When Grange reproached the noble insurgents, for their bad usage to the Queen, and for their worse treatment of him, for breaking the engagement, which he had made with her, by their directions, they shewed him this letter, from Maitland's pen: and assured him that their lives, and lands,

[i] See Melvill's Mem. 84.

depended on the Queen's commitment. Grange remained dissatisfied, however; and if they had not shown him this supposititious letter, he would have left them[k]. But, of the sending, or writing such a letter, there never were any proofs produced. Confined, and guarded, as she was, pen, ink, and paper were not at hand, if she had had such follies, in her head. When it had answered the purpose of the day, this supposititious letter, was never again seen, nor heard of, in that age of forgeries[l]. But, we ought always to recollect, that the insurgent nobles, with Maitland, for their secretary, forged such a letter, in the Queen's name; as we shall soon hear of many such forgeries.

On the same day, that the insurgent nobles, committed the Queen to Lochleven castle, without a cause; except, that their *lives*, and *lands*, *were safer*, with the Queen's imprisonment, than if she were free; those nobles entered into a second association: It is full of falsehood, and disingenuity; yet, has Robertson adopted the most of it into his history: The Queen, indeed, is not directly accused; yet, are several of the charges so artfully shaped, as to induce the reader to suppose her conduct to be criminal[m]. What shall we say of the association of the nobles, for freeing the Queen, from Bothwell's thraldom,

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[k] Id.

[l] Tytler, ii. 177—81; and Whitaker, iii. 5—10, have shown, satisfactorily, that the above letter was a forgery. But, though the above epistle was neither produced, nor mentioned, the falsehood, contained in it, was asserted, *in a new form*, by Murray. Goodall, ii. 146. Murray's falsehood was flatly contradicted, by the Queen's commissioners. Ib. 165. Buchanan passed over the above letter in silence. Lib. xviii. Hume suspected the letter to be forged, but, he amplified Murray's lies, by confounding the epistle, with the falsehoods. Hist. v. 120. Robertson, after relying on the falsehoods of Murray, finally, gave up the letter, as a forgery: But, would not, for the world, suppose, that such a miscreant, and murderer, and falsifier, as Morton, could have forged such a letter, Hist. i. 448. Hist. ii. Ed. ii. 340; Whitaker, iii. 7.

[m] The association above is in Anderson's Col. i. 134; Keith, 404.

while she was a prisoner to themselves?[n] The answer must be, that they were miscreants. What ought we to say, of Secretary Cecil, who propagated, that the Scotish Queen was warded, in Lochleven castle, till Bothwell might be tried, though he was handed off the field, by the nobles, when they had secured the Queen's person?[o] The answer must be, that he lent himself to propagate the falsehoods, and fictitious, of those perfidious miscreants, with the murderer of the King, at their head.

On the 17th of June the insurgent nobles began to show their zeal, for punishing various persons, who were, and some, who were not, guilty, of the King's murder: They probably allowed Sebastian, a Frenchman, to escape[p]. Captain William Blackadder was tried, condemned, and executed, for the King's murder But, *at his death, he would no ways confess himself guilty*[q].

The insurgent nobles, on the 18th of June, seized the Queen's plate, jewels, and other moveables, in Holyrood-house:[r] They coined the whole of her plate[s]. On the same day, Glencairn went with his servants into the Queen's chapel of Holyrood-

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[n] Their association was dated on the 16th of June: Now; she came over to them, on the day before, and in the night of the 16th, she was carried captive, by the Lords Ruthven, and Lindsay, whom she had pardoned for treason, to Lochleven castle. The city of Edinburgh joined them in that association, some sixteen days afterwards. Keith, 409; App. 148.

[o] The Cabala is the record of his guilt.

[p] Keith strongly suspects, that he was permitted to escape. Hist. 406.

[q] Hist. K. Ja. VI. 24; Birrel's Diary, 10-11, mentions his execution; but, does not notice the above intimation of Blackadder's innocence. He made no confession, that we hear of, while so many issued declarations.

[r] Keith, 409; Calderwood's MS.

[s] Hist. K. Ja. VI. 25. They spared not her cupboard; converted the whole into coin, of the weight of sixteen stone; and *so, formed a staff, to break her own head.*

house, and broke down the altars, and demolished the pictures, images, and ornaments. This outrage was highly commended by the preachers, as a work of great godliness: But, the other insurgent nobles were somewhat displeased; as he had done this mischief, without any order, and before they had resolved, how to deal with the Queen[t].

It is a curious circumstance, which marks the real design of the rebellious nobles: They immediately took the most decisive, and vigorous measures *against the Queen*, in violation of their public professions, and in breach of their solemn engagements, to serve, and obey her; while they did not pursue Bothwell, or take any measure to prevent his escape; though they always avowed one of their chief objects to be, to inflict condign punishment on Bothwell, for the King's murder: Morton and Maitland, who were his complotters, knew, that he could charge them with their guilty conduct, in that abominable deed[u]. On the 26th of June, ten days after the Queen's imprisonment, the insurgent lords, calling themselves "the lords of the Secret Council," ordered letters to be directed, *in the Queen's name*, to the keeper of Dunbar castle, to surrender the same, in six hours,[v] as he had been received within it. On the same day, they issued a proclamation for arresting Bothwell; that he might be punished, for the King's murder. Now, the fact is, that Bothwell was himself the keeper of the castle of Dunbar; and the charge to surrender it, can only be construed, as an intimation, that he would do well to depart. After he had here remained twenty days, Bothwell, as hereditary high admiral of Scotland, put to sea, about the 6th or 7th of July, in two small vessels, accom-

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[t] Spottiswoode, 208.

[u] Goodall, ii. 164-5; wherein may be seen the Queen's declaration, on this head. Melvill confirms the account of the Queen and her commissioners. Mem. 83.

[v] Keith, 408.

panied by several accomplices, and servants; leaving the castle, in the charge of the laird of Whitelaw, as his deputy keeper. He only went into Murray, where he was received by his grand uncle, Patrick Hepburn, the bishop. The insurgent nobles, who governed, in the name of their imprisoned Queen, pursued Bothwell with proclamations. They, afterwards, fitted out two ships, under Grange, and Tullybardin, to follow him to the Orkneys, where his own deputy, Gilbert Balfour, refused to admit him into the castle of Kirkwall[w]. He, in the end, found it nessary, to depart, both from Orkney, and Shetland, having lost one of his ships, and to sail towards Norway, where, having attempted the capture of a trader, vessels of war were sent out, by the Danish government, which took his ship; and he, and his crew, were detained in the prisons of Denmark. It was soon discovered, that Bothwell was the lord high admiral of Scotland, and the Queen's husband, who had been expelled his country, by men, who were even more guilty, and more wicked, than the wretched Bothwell.

We are now arrived, by the foregoing progress, at the 20th of June 1567, the epoch of the supposed discovery of a boxful of love letters, from the Queen to Bothwell; from a married woman to a married man, from a wife, who wished to save her husband, to a conspirator, who was leagued to murder him.

The first four letters, in Goodall's series, pretend to have been written by her, on the 22d to the 26th of January 1566-7[x]. Now; two several records, the Privy Seal Register, and the Register of Signatures, demonstrate, that the Queen remained, at Edinburgh, as late as Friday, the 24th of January, 1567. She may have left Edinburgh, on this day, after dinner, the time, when she generally travelled, and may have reached

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[w] Spottiswoode, 213. Keith, 442.

[x] Whitaker's Vind. ii. 3, which quotes Murray's journal, in his App. and Goodall, i. 119—122.

Callender; but she could not have arrived at Glasgow, till the evening of the 25th of January. The first letter, from that town, owing to its great length, and other circumstances, must have required part of three days, to write it[y]. The *second* letter from Glasgow was dated on Saturday, in the morning, which must have been Saturday, the 25th of January 1566-7. But, those two records evince, that the Queen was at Edinburgh, on the 24th of January, and must have been on the road, on the 25th. As the Queen could not have been, at Glasgow, when those letters are dated, at that place, they must necessarily be forgeries. It is a fact, which cannot be doubted, that the Queen, and her husband, were reconciled to each other, before she went to Glasgow, to bring him to Edinburgh. This is the very period, during the two days, that she remained there, wherein the forger chose to make the Queen write her supposed letters to Bothwell.

Such, then, are the previous facts, and circumstances, to the discovery, on the 20th of June 1567, of a boxful of love letters, from the Queen to Bothwell. Morton, the conspirator, asserted, that he had arrested one Dalgleish, a servant of Bothwell, carrying this box, from Sir James Balfour, the governor of Edinburgh castle, to Bothwell, at Dunbar. But, none of the contemporary writers mention when, and where, Dalgleish was arrested, with that box[z]. Dalgleish, however,

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[y] Goodall, i. 119-20-22. The Queen, who went to Glasgow, merely, to remove her husband to Edinburgh, only remained, at that town, on Sunday the 26th of January, and Monday, the 27th: She left it, with Darnley, on Tuesday, the 28th of January, on which day they arrived, at Callender; as we learn, from the records, which are quoted, by Goodall, i. 120-1-2, and they arrived, at Edinburgh, on the 31st: as we learn, from Birrel's Diary.

[z] Birrel, who mentions the arrest of Blackadder, on the 17th of June, says not a word of the taking of Dalgleish, with the box and letters, on the 20th of June. The History of K. Ja. VI. mentions the arrest of Blackadder; but says not a word of the detection of Dalgleish, with the boxful of letters. Sir James Melvill, the

was apprehended, as one of the murderers of Darnley, on some day, immediately preceding the 26th of June: For, on that day, he appeared before the Privy Council; and was examined, about Darnley's murder, by Morton, the intercepter of the box, by Athol, and other privy counsellors; yet, neither did they ask, nor he answer a single question, about the box, and letters[a].

In all the consultations of the insurgent nobles, from the 20th of June till the 4th of December 1567, there is not the least intimation, of any box, and letters, in any of the public papers. In the rebellious bond, which was entered into, for crowning the Queen's son, and supporting his government, there is not any insinuation, that any letters of the Queen had been found, which would have been so apposite; neither is there any charge:[b] The noble insurgents chose to have, for their ruler, a boy thirteen months old, who had neither title nor ability, rather than his mother, who had the right, and competency. But, though those miscreants made no direct charge against their sovereign, they shaped their criminations of Bothwell, in such a manner, as to raise insinuations, as well as popular clamour, against her. If such letters, then, had come into their power, on the 20th of June, they would have certainly converted such insinuations into direct charges; as the foundation of their future measures: This they would have

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confident, and agent, of the insurgent nobles, who was employed by them, to corrupt Sir James Balfour, the governor of the castle, has not a word, in his memoirs, of so important an event, as discovering on Dalgleish a boxful of such letters. Sir James Melvill was sent, by the same nobles, on the 10th of August, to meet Murray, at Berwick, and give him a confidential account of all their transactions, down to that date: Yet, in his communications with Murray, there is not the slightest intimation of such a discovery of such interesting epistles. See his Memoirs.

[a] See Dalgleish's Deposition, in Anderson's Col. ii. 173—7.

[b] Anderson's Col. ii. 231—42.

done, rather than suffer their commitment, to stand on vague, and unmeaning assertion. As they forged a letter, to justify her commitment to Lochleven castle, this example shows, that they had not any scruples, to adopt similar means, to justify themselves, and to charge the Queen. The next difficulty, which occurred to the noble insurgents, in their career of usurpation, was to obtain the Queen's resignation of her crown, to effect which, they used artifices, threats, and violences: but, if the letters had been in their hands, at the end of July, they had only to produce them, to obtain their purpose. Their purpose of forging such letters seems to have, only, been then, within their contemplation; and would have been executed, if their artifices, threats, and violences, had not obtained her resignation.

On the subsequent day, the insurgent nobles assumed the title of "*the lords of secret council*[c]." Having caused to be arrested four persons, who were suspected of the King's murder, the lords of secret council, therefore, ordered the said

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[c] Spottiswoode, in the MS of his history, speaking of those nobles, as *rebels* adds, "for so hey were styled, till they prevailed." So we see, says Keith, 406, *success* confers *right*. There have been *insurrections*, in Scotland, the principle whereof was consistent, manly, and gentlemanlike: But, in this insurrection, the avowed principle was contradictory, perfidious, and base, in the highest degree. The insurgents avowed, as the principle, on which they had drawn their swords, was, to free the Queen from the tyranny of Bothwell: When she voluntarily left Bothwell, and joined the insurgents, on an engagement, from them, to receive her as Queen, and obey her as sovereign, they immediately carried her as a captive to her capital, and from thence sent her prisoner to Lochleven castle. They carried on the government, *in the Queen's name*, but against her authority, while she was a prisoner. The chief of this treasonous insurrection was Morton, the convicted murderer of the King, though the second principle of this insurrection was, to *bring the King's assassins to justice*. They seized the Queen's plate, jewels, and other moveables, which they converted into the means of supporting this rebellion against the Queen, and the first principles of every society. The secret council consisted of four earls: Morton, Athol, Mar, Glencairn, and of five lords, Hume, Ruthven, Sempil, Sanquehar, Ochiltree.

persons, to be *ironed,* and *tormented.* All those persons were executed; and probably denied their guilt, as Captain Blackadder, certainly, did, otherwise we should have had their trials, and confessions, published to a credulous world. But, whatever were the pretences, and practices, of the secret council, the members were not joined, by the great body of the nobles, nor cheered, by the concourse, and plaudits of the people[d].

M. de Villeroy, the French ambassador, meantime came to Edinburgh, on the 23d of June; and desired to converse with the Queen, but was refused: whereupon, he returned home, through England, "finding such a troubled state, without the "majesty of a prince[e]."

The secret council, who acted thus, with Morton, at their head, were but a very small part of the nobles: The great body of the baronage was astonished at their boldness; and felt indignant, that half a dozen persons should presume to seize the capital, and imprison the Queen; which, says Spottiswoode, they condemned as a crime of the highest treason[f]."

In this state of men's minds, the insurgent nobles were much embarrassed; and had quite deserted so perfiduous a cause, had not Morton persuaded them, to keep together, at Edinburgh; and to invite the nobles, who were convened, at Hamilton, to join them, in the metropolis. But, the nobles, who were assembled, at Hamilton, were too circumspect, to trust themselves, in the fangs of so false, and perfidious a wretch, as Morton. The secret council now called the church, to its aid. The assembly met, at Edinburgh, on the 25th of June, to give its aid to the secret council; and chose Buchanan, as moderator: The assembly entered, zealously, into the insidious project of the secret council[e]. The church judicatory, whose duty it is, to promote peace on earth, dispersed letters to the

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[d] Keith, 406 7.

[e] Hist. K. Ja. VI. 22; Birrel's Diary, 22.

[f] Hist. 208.

principal nobles, and appointed commissioners, to enforce the request of the assembly, for joining the secret council, whose object was to promote true religion, by abolishing papistry; "seeing that God, at this present, has begun to tread down "Satan [the Queen][g] under foot." And, in order to bring enthusiasm to their aid, the assembly appointed a public fast, to be held, in Edinburgh; beginning on Sunday, the 13th of July, and ending, on Sunday the 20th of the same month[h]. Yet, few, or none of the nobles paid any attention to this call; and only some of the freeholders, who were heated, by fanaticism, came, in any numbers, to Edinburgh; to fast, with Buchanan, the calumniator, and to pray, with Morton, the murderer[i].

Meanwhile, the secret council, assuming fresh spirits, endeavoured to fortify the metropolis, as a place of arms; and the corporation of Edinburgh commanded the citizens, to prepare themselves for a siege[k]. The secret council issued an order to the people, not to pay any taxes, or other duties, to Sir James Cockburn, the Queen's comptroller; he being appointed, while her highness was under the shameful thraldom of Bothwell; and he being now unfit, when the Queen is at liberty, under the secret council[l]. Three days after, Morton, Athol, Sir James Balfour, Richardson, the treasurer, and Preston of Craigmillar, ordered Servis de Conde, the Queen's valet de chambre, to deliver Acheson, the Queen's coiner, the Queen's plate, amounting to 74 marks, to be coined, "for "forthsetting her highnesses service[m]." We thus may see, that the bondage of Bothwell was lighter than thin air, when compared with the plunder, and oppression, of the secret council, with Morton, her husband's murderer, for its head

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[g] Knox, 410; Spotiswoode, 208-9; Keith, 573-4-5.
[h] Keith, 576.
[i] Keith, 379; Knox, 410; Spotiswoode, 208.
[k] Maitland's Edin. 29.
[l] Keith, 410-11, on the 7th of July.
[m] Keith's Pref. ix.

At length, arrived, at Edinburgh, on the 12th of July, Throkmorton, Elizabeth's envoy. He had public instructions, from Elizabeth, who was not much gratified with the principles, and practices, of the secret council, who avowed, as the true motive of the insurrection to be, for freeing the Queen, from Bothwell's bondage; yet, the moment, that she had freed herself, by leaving Bothwell, those secret counsellors, sent Elizabeth's good cousin, secretly, to prison. Throkmorton had private instructions, from Cecil, who did not approve of this melting mood of his mistress[n]. Throkmorton slept, on the 11th of July, at Fast castle, within the Scotish border, where he was met, by Maitland, the forger, Lord Home, the insurgent, and Sir James Melvill, the insidious instrument of the perfidious council. We may easily suppose, that the confidential conversation, which ensued, would blazon Morton's motives, and blacken the Queen's faults[o]. On the morrow, Throkmorton was conveyed to Edinburgh, by Lord Home, at the head of 400 horsemen.

One of the great objects of Elizabeth, in sending this experienced statesman to Edinburgh, was, "to deal with the lords, and Queen, for sending the young Prince, into England[p]." But, Elizabeth did not divine, that the baby James, at the age of twelve months, and forty days, had been destined, at the rise of the insurrection, by the most flagitious of men, as the snake, which was to sting the bosom, that had fostered him into life; by his coronation, as sovereign, in supersedence of his mother.

Throkmorton was now enveloped in all the vice, and villainy, which domineered, at Edinburgh. The insurgents dallied with him, as an envoy, whom they knew, to have double

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[n] Keith, 411—14-15-16; wherein may be seen Throkmorton's instructions, and the terms of agreement, which were proposed, by Elizabeth.

[o] Robertson's App. i. 442. [p] Ib. 444.

instructions. They would not allow him access to the Queen; and what he knew of her was, from Maitland, one of the falsest of mankind. She remained, as he wrote to Elizabeth, on the 14th of July,[q] in good health, within the castle of Lochleven, guarded, by Lord Lindsay, and Douglas, the owner of it: She is waited on, by five or six ladies, four or five gentlemen, and two chamberers, whereof one is a Frenchwoman. She is guarded strictly: and the rigour of the lords proceeds, from this circumstance: because the Queen will not, by any means, consent, to lend her authority to prosecute the murder:[r] And she will not, by any persuasion, abandon Bothwell, for her husband. She had abandoned Bothwell, on Carberyhill, when he was allowed, by the insurgents, to depart, in peace, and to remain, in quiet, for three weeks, at Dunbar: Now, that he was expelled, and she imprisoned; What was Bothwell to the Queen; or the Queen to Bothwell? Such intimations, from Maitland to Throkmorton, are mere repetitions of the forgery, which had chiefly justified her imprisonment; and were now repeated, to warrant her detention. The insurgent nobles, continues Throkmorton, do not forget their own peril, with the danger of the Prince:[s] But, who brought them into peril, when they drew their swords? the Prince being in their own possession, and on the eve of coronation, what danger, could the Prince be in? what sophistry! what delusion! How easily is he deluded, who plays a double part! They instantly refused him access to the Queen; they daily deluded him with false information; and they even imposed on him their own plan, for the Queen's resignation of the sovereignty, *as coming from herself.* If Elizabeth had not, also, been deluded, by Throk-

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[q] Ib. 447.

[r] The secret council had now, for a month, been tormenting, and putting to death, various men, in the Queen's name, *without her authority*, for the King's murder. If Throkmorton was gulled, by such talk, he must have been a silly fellow.

[s] Ib. 447.

morton, and Cecil, she could have, easily, dispersed the secret council of flagitious men, who then enthralled the Queen, and kingdom, by marching a force, under Drury, from Berwick, upon Edinburgh.

But, Cecil was leagued with the insurgent lords. Neither Murray, nor Morton, nor Maitland, ever communicated to him the secret of their being themselves the devisers of the death of Darnley. Few men will avow such a secret. They, indeed, all wrote letters of acknowledgement to that statesman, for former protection, with a view to the future. As soon as Morton, and Athol, had drawn their swords, early in June, for dethroning the Queen, and crowning her son; avowing as a pretence, the freeing of the Queen, from Bothwell's bondage, then they communicated their designs to Cecil. This secretary was all alacrity, on receiving this intelligence. He immediately induced Elizabeth, to order Bedford to his post, at Berwick, "to countenance the lords." Secretary Maitland detailed their whole plan of insurrection, for those treasonous purposes to Cecil; and asked him for money, to support their measures; which, however, was not very promptly granted[t]. But, the connection of the insurgents, with

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[t] All those intimations were drawn from letters, in the Paper Office. But, the *Cabala* is the record of Cecil's intimate connection with this fresh insurrection: He wrote, on the 27th of May 1567, to Norris, at Paris: "I assure you the Queen of "Scots was married, on the 15th of this month; and the nobility therewith so "offended, as they remain with the Prince, and keep apart from her." In his dispatch to Norris of the 26th of June, he informed him of the Queen's capture, on the 15th of this month; yielding herself to the lords, but *flatly denying* justice *against Bothwell.* "At this time, I send you certain packets of letters, left here, "by Mr. Melvin, who lately came hither, from the Queen of Scots; the sending "of these to the Lord of Murray requireth great haste, whereof you must not "make the Scots ambassador privy. His return to Scotland is much desired of "them [the secret council;] and for the weal both of England, and Scotland, "I wish he were here; and for his manner of returning, touching his safety, I "pray have good care." In his letter of the 14th of July to Norris, he says:

Cecil, was now completely established; and through his able hands, did they carry on their correspondence, with Murray, in France: And, in this manner, is it proved, beyond a doubt, that in the conspiracy, for the dethroning of the Queen, and crowning her son, are the insurgent nobles, with Murray, and Cecil, all tied together, with hooks of steel.

The general assembly of the church, which had been appointed to convene, at Edinburgh, on the 20th of July, met, on the 21st[u]. The letters, which the assembly had written, and the commissions appointed by its direction, for bringing to Edinburgh the nobles, and barons, who were adverse, from the secret council, completely failed of their effect: The extraordinary state of things; the Queen a prisoner; the capital being held by certain lords, with an armed force; were assigned, as reasons, by some of the absent nobles, and others for not coming to such a treacherous meeting, in Edinburgh[v].

The adverse nobles, who had assembled at Hamilton, in June, about the epoch of the Queen's imprisonment, seem to have adjourned to Dunbarton, and there bound themselves together, by an association[w]. But, they appear, to have been too much actuated, by interested motives, and family jealousies. Their chief seems to have been Archbishop Hamilton, a man of narrow views. And the Queen was so strictly guarded, that they seem to have been precluded, from any communication with her, and still less any authority. Her imprisonment, by six nobles, was a sufficient reason, for sixty nobles, to draw their swords, for her relief. The secret counsellors, who held

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" If my Lord of Murray should lack credit for money, my Lord Stewart would " have his son give him such credit as he hath." Cabala, 128-9.

[u] Keith, 577; Pref. xii.

[v] Knox, 410; Spottiswoode, 209; Keith, 408—577-78-9: Even the town of Aberdeen declined to attend; and only sent their minister, Adam Hewit, to concur in church matters.

[w] See it, in Keith, 436.

the Queen, and the capital, in subjection, had nothing but their audacity, for their warrant.

Yet, the zeal of the commissioners, who were appointed by the church assembly, brought out a considerable number of the smaller barons, and others, who joined the assembly, at Edinburgh, on the 21st of July[x]. As the ministers had, zealously, lent themselves to the insurgent lords, they resolved, at the same time, to secure their own objects. In the former sitting, they presented a set of articles to those lords, and their adherents, who were then present in the assembly, and subscribed by them. At the head of the subscribers were: The Earl of Morton, as the chief, Glencairn, and Mar, the Lords Hume, Ruthven, Sanquehar, Lindsay, Ochiltree, Sir James Balfour, the governor of the castle of Edinburgh, and Secretary Maitland[y]. We have now seen the zeal, and the views of the churchmen: Yet, the insurgent lords, who subscribed this act of heat, and persecution, and made great promises of

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[x] Keith, 577—81.

[y] Keith, 583. The engagement, which they all agreed to maintain, was:

1. To support the Parliament of 1560, and to execute the laws, which had been made in it, for establishing *protestantism,* and putting down popery:

2-3. For enforcing the payment of the thirds of the stipends, and securing the patrimony of the kirk to the preachers of *the religion:*

6. For the punishment of the King's murder; Morton, and Maitland, being guilty.

7. For maintaining, and defending the Prince.

8 For obliging all kings, who shall hereafter reign, to league themselves with the true kirk of God; and maintain, and set forward the true religion.

9. For committing the Prince, for surety, and education, to wise, godly, and learned men.

10. For engaging the nobles, barons, and others, to convene with their power of men, to root out, and utterly destroy all monuments of idolatry, and the odious, and blasphemous mass, first at Edinburgh, and then to proceed throughout the realm, for the same purposes; and to establish the true religion, by planting ministers, and kirks, within the whole realm. Id.; and 584. And, all this they engaged to do, without exception of persons, or places.

performance; having obtained their ends, easily forgot all, and violated their engagements[z]. Those perfidious men, only, served the church, as they had betrayed the crown, constantly making engagements, and breaking them, as interest prompted their efforts, and success confirmed their hopes.

The secret council had secured Edinburgh castle, by means of the perfidy of Sir James Balfour, the governor. The corporation of Edinburgh, on the 23d of July, entered into a league with the castle, for mutually maintaining each other, in so godly a cause, as dethroning the Queen, and crowning her son[a]. Encouraged, by all those measures, the secret council, on the same 23d of July, held a conference, on their proceeding with the Queen; and resolved to oblige her, to execute the resignation of the crown, on the subsequent day: And, in case she should refuse, to comply with their resolutions, they determined, to restrain her liberty more strictly, and to deprive her of all her attendants. To all those means of compulsion, were added intrigue and delusion, falsehood and perfidy[b].

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[z] Knox, 410; Spottiswoode, 209: Throkmorton, in his letter of the 24th of July, informed Elizabeth, that the zealots intended to proceed, first, against the Archbishop of St. Andrews, and, then, against all *other bishops*, and men of his faction. Keith, 426. Upon the capture of the archbishop, in Dunbarton castle, they did *hang him*, at Stirling. This is one of the many bloody acts, which have so disgraced the Calvinists, and Knoxites.

[a] Keith, 410.

[b] On the 21st of July, only two days preceding the date of those resolutions, there was made an act of privy council, by Morton, Athol, Hume, and some other lords against the Bishop of Murray, for entertaining Bothwell, his relation; wherein, they state, that the said earl, after he had ravished the Queen's noble person, and led her captive to Dunbar, constrained her, being in his bondage, and thraldom, to contract an *ungodly* marriage with him. [Anderson, i. 142.] This marriage, then, was *ungodly*, as it was *enforced*: But, it was innocent, as to the Queen, because no woman is guilty, who is overpowered, by a ruffian, whom she cannot resist. And, Murray's faction, particularly, Morton, and Maitland, aided Bothwell, in coercing the Queen. Now the *secret counsellors*, by the above act, establish the Queen's innocence; and two days, afterwards, the same secret counsellors came

Lord Lindsay, on the morning of the 24th of July 1567, was sent to Lochleven, to obtain the Queen's signature, to her own resignation of the crown, and to the commissions of regency. He was selected, for this abominable business, as being the most ferocious and brutal, and the greatest zealot of all those brutish, and perfidious nobles, who then domineered over Scotland[e]. We have now seen, from the most indubitable evi-

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to resolutions, to compel her, as a *guilty* Queen, to resign her crown. Contradictions must, necessarily, be wrong. Throkmorton informed Elizabeth, on the 24th of July [Keith, 424-5.] "As far as I can understand, in case of the Queen's "refusal of their demands, they mean to proceed with violence, and force, as well "for the coronation of the Prince, as the overthrow of the Queen." Melvill says [Mem. 165.] That after the *lords enterprizers*, [the *rebellious lords*] had secured the Queen, in Lochleven, they began to consult, how to get her majesty counselled, to resign the government to the Prince her son: They resolved to send Lord Lindsay, the greatest ruffian of all those ruffians, first, to use their persuasions, and in case he could not succeed, by fair means, to make use of *harder terms*.

[e] The contemporary history of King Ja. VI. p. 26, says, "she was in such a "case, that she neither could, nor durst, refuse; for the messenger was com-"manded, in case she refused, to denounce death unto her, for the murder of her "lawful husband.". [Robertson, i. 456] indeed, says, that Lindsay executed his commission, with harshness, and brutality: Certain death was before Mary's eyes, if she refused, to comply with his demands. Spottiswoode, 211, goes into minute particulars, to show, that the Queen had been deluded, by perfidy, intimidated, by threats, and urged, by necessity, to sign the writings, which were laid before her. When the King's commissioners, were to answer the Queen's complaint, Murray, Morton, and their associates, asserted, with their usual falsehood, that the Queen's resignation was *voluntary*, without any compulsion, or threats. [Goodall, ii. 146.] The Queen's commissioners, in reply asserted, that she was constrained, in prison, to sign the resignation against her will, and in fear of her life. Even Throkmorton advised her to sign their writings. [Ibid, ii. 166—344.] The convention of thirty-five nobles, at Dunbarton, in September 1568, declare the same facts; and add, that all this was admitted, declared, and verified, by Robert Melvill, who had been, in Lochleven castle, with the Queen. Ib. 362. The signature of the three instruments, by the Queen, whether voluntary, or involuntary, was not deemed, it seems, sufficiently constitutional, without the Privy Seal. The same brutish Lord Lindsay brought the three instruments to Thomas Sinclair, who had acted as deputy keeper of that seal, from 1555 to 1574; and who appears to have

dence, that the whole instruments of the Queen's resignation, as well as the Privy Seal, proceeding thereon, were obtained, by threats, by violence, by force: and of consequence were unwarrantable, and void. We have now seen, clearly, that Murray, Morton, and their associate commissioners, who asserted, at York, *that the Queen's resignation of her sovereignty was voluntary*, were the most *egregious falsifiers.*

Lord Lindsay returned, from Lochleven, to Edinburgh, on the 25th of July, with the Queen's involuntary signature to the instruments of resignation; and immediately proceeded to compel, by tumult, the keeper of the Privy Seal, to affix the appropriate seal to the same instruments. The secret council, consisting of Morton, Athol, Hume, Sanquhar, and Ruthven, assembled, to whom Lindsay, presented the three instruments, which were read, and approved. On the same day, the Queen's resignation, and appointment of a Regency, were proclaimed, at the cross of Edinburgh[d]. The secret council, immediately, proceeded to enter into a second association; engaging to assemble, at Stirling, and crown the Prince, and to maintain

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been, in a vicious age, an honest, and spirited man. He refused to affix the Privy Seal to such instruments, *the Queen being, in ward.* Lord Lindsay, therefore, *with a company of folks*, compelled Sinclair to affix the seal to the three instruments; the officer protesting against this violence, which he could not resist. This fact was mentioned, in the Queen's Parliament, 12th June 1571, as we see it in Bannatyne's MS. Journal: "It is not to be passed over in silence," said that convention, "in what manner the Privy Seal was appended to that letter [the Queen's letter of resignation,] how it *violently*, and by force, was reft out of the "keeper's hands, as may appear, by authentic documents; so as her majesty's "subscription was obtained, by force; so was the seal extorted by force." See that curious article, in Blackwood's Edinburgh Magazine, October 1817. Yet; ought it to be noticed, that in the body of the instrument of resignation, the Queen is made to say, that she resigned her sovereignty, *voluntarily*; without knowing that, such a word was in the document, as she never read it. See this instrument in Keith, 431. This, however, only proves, the consummate villainy of the noble miscreants!

[d] Spottiswoode, 211.

him, as King[e]. Every effort was made, both, by the secret council, and by Murray, afterwards, to obtain subscribers to this treasonous act[f]. At the same time, the secret council, with Morton, at its head, issued an order, to Servais de Conde, the Queen's valet de chambre, to deliver the crown, sceptre, and sword, the regalia of this realm, for the coronation of the Prince[g]. On the 26th of July, the associated nobles went to Stirling; and appointed the 29th of July, for the act of coronation[h]. They, meantime, sent Sir James Melvill to the nobles, who were assembled, at Hamilton; to invite them to the Prince's coronation:[i] What was that, but to invite the great body of the nobles, to participate, with them, in the responsibility, for an act so violent, and unwarrantable.

When the associated nobles assembled in the hall of Stirling castle to crown the Prince, Hamilton of Muirton appeared before them, as agent for the Duke of Chattleherault; and protested against the whole proceedings, as injurious, or as probably injurious, to his rights, as, by law, presumptive heir, of the crown[k]. The duke seemed to have forgotten, though his residence, in France, ought to have brought his own misconduct, before his eyes, that his whole proceedings, from the Queen's arrival, in 1561, had been a tissue of weakness, and impolicy, which had distressed the Queen, but fostered the ambition of Murray. The insurgent nobles now carried baby James, 12

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[e] Keith, 434-5; Anderson's Col. ii. 240-2.

[f] Burnet's Hist. Reform, iii. [g] Keith, Pref. ix.

[h] Birrel's Diary.

[i] Sir James says, Mem. 165-6-7, when he delivered his commission, the younger lords declared, that they would not believe, the Queen had resigned the government; and if she had done it, it would be found, to have been done to save her life. Those young lords were right. The archbishop, however, desired him to say on their behalf, if the purpose only were to punish the King's murderers, they were ready to join them; if they intended to pursue very different projects, they must protest against such projects: But, the archbishop's mind was narrow, and his designs were interested, and feeble. [k] Keith, 437.

months, and 40 days old, to the church of Stirling, where he was crowned, and *anointed,*[l] by Adam Bishop of Orkney[m]. Lindsay, and Ruthven, *publickly* swore, that the Queen did resign *willingly,* and without compulsion, her estate to her son, and the government of the realm to such persons, as by the several commissions, she had named[n]. What perjured wretches were Lindsay, and Ruthven! Morton took the new coronation oath for the infant King! Knox preached the sermon, on that occasion[o]. Sir John Ballenden, the justice clerk, in the name of the three estates, and Knox, and Campbell, for the church, protested on the legality of the whole proceeding[p]. Athol, that day, bore the crown; Morton the sceptre: Glencairn the sword; and Marr carried the baby King to his appropriate chamber, in Stirling castle[q].

The insurgent nobles had hitherto governed Scotland, in the Queen's name, without her authority: From the epoch of this coronation, every act was done, in the King's name: and, those lords directed, that the infant King should be proclaimed, in every town within the kingdom[r]. The associated nobles had now accomplished the secret resolution, which they had entered into, at Stirling, immediately after Mary's marriage with Bothwell; to dethrone the Queen, and crown her son, which was thus achieved, by fiction and forgery, by falsehood and perfidy, by violence and perjury. This coronation of the Prince, and dethronement of the Queen, were, merely, the

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[l] About the *anointing* of the King, there was a sharp dispute; but, in the end, he was *anointed,* notwithstanding Knox, and the preachers, repined at the *Jewish ceremony.* Calderwood's M. History.

[m] It was he, who married the Queen and Bothwell; and immediately after became one of the most zealous partizans of the insurgent nobles; and one of the most violent persecutors of the Queen.

[n] Throkmorton's letter to Elizabeth, 31st July 1567.

[o] Knox, 412.

[p] Keith, 437.

[q] Hist. K. J. VI. 27.

[r] Keith, 440-1.

consummation of the original conspiracy, for the death of Darnley. The concert which began at Michaelmas 1566, and was completed, at Craigmillar, in November, comprehended, as essential, the marriage of the Queen to Bothwell, the cat's-paw, merely, as one of the means, for disgracing, and dethroning her. Maitland, for counsel, and Morton, for action, obtained the acquittal of Bothwell; and by artifices, and violence, forced the Queen to marry him. They had now obtained, for Bothwell, all that they had promised, in reward, for acting the chief part in the odious tragedy of Darnley's death. The marriage was, scarcely, solemnized, when Morton, and Maitland, with other associates, entered into secret resolutions, to dethrone the Queen, and to crown the Prince; in order to let in Murray to the viceregal chair. When those guilty nobles drew their swords, they avowed, as their pretence, rather than their motive, the freeing of the Queen, from the thraldom of Bothwell. When she freed herself, from Bothwell, Morton, the murderer, immediately, made her captive, and soon sent her to Lochleven castle, as a prisoner. But, short is the distance of time, and place, from the prison to the fall of princes. They continued their efforts, and their artifices, till they crowned the Prince, and obtained the regency, for Murray.

Throkmorton, Elizabeth's envoy, was at Stirling, during the coronation, and his cousin, Middlemore, was in the church of Stirling, during the ceremony[s]. By thus appearing, at Stirling,

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[s] Murray's Journal, which probably stated those circumstances, as the consent of Elizabeth, to the dethronement of the Queen, and the coronation of her son. Throkmorton wrote his mistress, on the 21st of July: Forasmuch as I hear a whisper, that these lords do mean, to desire me to assist, at the coronation of the Prince: It may please your majesty, that I may know your pleasure how to direct myself, in that matter. [Keith's Pref. ix.] Elizabeth answered him on the 27th of July: "We think, knowing our mind, in all this action, as you "do, that you will not, by any such act, affirm their doings: And for your better "satisfaction, we do prohibit you to assist thereto, by any means." Keith, 430.

during the ceremony, he seemed to the bystanders, and avowed to the dissenting nobles, that Elizabeth approved of those revolutionary measures: But, knowing her mind, as his mistress said, he ought to have abstained, from any affirmance of their doings. But, Throkmorton, throughout his whole negotiations, with those insurgents, acted knavishly, a double part, sometimes, for Elizabeth, and oftener, for Cecil: When he, insidiously, advised the Scotish Queen to resign her sceptre, he acted, in favour of Cecil, but against "the mind of his mistress[t]."

The baby James was thus a King. We must now proceed one step further, and advert to his safety, and his institution, as a King: The Queen had already delivered him to the charge of the Earl of Marr, with the castle of Stirling, for his residence, and to the Countess of Marr was he committed, for the care of his body, and health, as an infant. The Earl of Marr did not act, with the independence, that might have been expected from him, when he consented, that the infant should be made the instrument of his mother's wrongs, and woes. The Earl, who rose to be the Regent, in the room of Lennox, died of a broken heart, in 1572, when he was succeeded, by Morton, the King's murderer. In November 1572, an ordon-

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[t] Cecil wrote Ambassador Norris, at Paris: On the 29th of July, the Prince of Scotland was crowned King, at Stirling, with all the ceremonies thereto due, and *with a general applause of all sorts:* The Queen remaineth where she was [a prisoner in Lochleven castle.] Cabala, 129. As to the general applause, of which Cecil spoke, it suited his purpose; but was untrue. In his next dispatch, he blames his mistress, for manifesting her dislike of *the lords* in this action; and thought "that Murray will take the office of regency, and will so band himself, with the "rest, as he will be out of peril, at home." [Id.] Throughout *this action*, Cecil carried on the correspondence of the insurgent nobles, with Murray, at Paris; and thus connected the conspirators, with Murray, whom he supplied with credit, for money. [See the Cabala every where.] Throkmorton's letters, in Keith, and Robertson, evince sufficiently, the concurrence of Murray, whose absence was affected, with the conspirators, in *this action.*

ance was made, by the Regent and Council, " for continuing " the King, in the castle of Stirling, under the care of the " widow of the late Earl of Marr; *as to his mouth and the* " *ordering of his person;* but, to continue under his present " *pedagogues;* and the castle, to be kept, in the name of the " Earl of Marr, a boy of eleven years of age[u]. The assembly " of the Kirk had already recommended the Prince, to be " committed, for surety, and education, to wise, godly, and " learned men." Buchanan, who had no religion, or morals, who was an ingrate, by principle, and a falsifier, by habit, was appointed his principal pedagogue; and Peter Young, an honest, and an able man, who remained long about the King, was his preceptor[v]. The boy James appears to have been a diligent reader, and an early author: He was also a great encourager of study in others. There remains an account of this infant King, when he was eight years old: He was said " to " be the sweetest sight, in Europe, for strange, and extraor- " dinary gifts of ingyne, judgement, memory, and language:

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[u] MS. books of Privy Council, Harl. MSS. 4627. The countess, to whom the infant James was confided, was Anabella Murray, the daughter of Sir William Murray of Tullibarden. She was well rewarded. [Acta Parl. iii. 106.] The King's son, Prince Henry, was also committed to the same countess, who, in July 1599, resigned her charge, on account of her age, and infirmities. The King was enabled to reward her. Acta Parl. iv. 185-7. Ib. 243.

[v] In October 1573, there was a charge, in the Treasurer's books, of £8. 8*s.* to Peter Young " for certain buikis to his grace." In February 1573-4, there was a charge, in the same record, of £13. 2*s.* for repairing of the King's *studie*; for making a new window, and for other necessaries. In May 1573, there is a charge, in the treasury record, of £3. 10*s.* " for 9 paper buikis, to the King. In November, 1588, Elliot's Dictionary, Latin and English, as augmented, by Cooper, was bought for the King; as was the New Testament of R. Wright of London. Treasurer's accounts. Vautrollier, the printer, and Henry Charters, printer, and bookseller, received much money, for books. John Gibson was the King's bookbinder, and received money, for supplying, and binding books; for binding the New Testament, to the King, 14*s.*

" He was heard to discourse, walking, in Lady Marr's hand, " of knowledge, and government, as a thing of marvel, and " astonishment." We may thus perceive, that the infant King was another *Lama*, who knew, from intuition, the wisdom of the east; and the scholarship of the west!

The next object of enquiry is the pastimes of the boy King: Bows and arrows; the *fute ball*, which he condemned, in his advice to his son, Henry, as too coarse, for a Prince; *cache-pole*, or tennis, was much enjoyed, by the young Prince; schule the board, or shovel-board; billiards; and *call the guse*[w]. He played much at *cards;* but, seems not to have been much addicted to *dice*. He appears to have been fond of hawking; but, he kept a pack of hounds, at Holyrood-house, which cost him a thousand a year. He appears to have loved music; and had early an establishment of violins: In 1580, he imported from London, " a pair of virginals, for his own " use;" and, indeed, Elizabeth delighted to play on the virginals, in which she excelled. When he was only fourteen, he encouraged several Flemish painters, to settle in Scotland[x]. The King seems to have been all his life weak on his limbs: In November 1582, he appears to have hurt his knee, which may have contributed to that weakness[y]. He was studious himself, and the cause of study, in others: From the little, which he had, he certainly gave great encouragement to literature: He gave a grant of lands, in Selkirkshire, to the Admirable Crichton, when a youth.

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[w] The Treasurer's books are the records of the King's pastimes.

[x] There are many payments to those painters, in the Treasurer's books.

[y] He was attended by William Brog, chirurgion, " at the time his majesty hurt " his knee. There was paid this surgeon £25. for 20 elns of small linnen to be " rolls thereto: There was paid £8. for three elns of violet taffety, of the cord, " to be bands for his hienes's knee, after his uprising out of bed".

SECTION X.

From the Queen's Dethronement, till her Escape into England.

THE Queen having thus been obliged to resign her sceptre, by the basest means, and her son being crowned, by similar arts, there was now a king in possession, though unequal to the legitimate end of just government, with a provisional administration[z]. The two persons, who, chiefly, influenced this revolution, and now conducted this temporary rule, was Secretary Maitland, for foresight, and the Earl of Morton, for agency, two of the chief, and convicted, murderers of the late King.

These two miscreants, after concurring with Bothwell, in the king's murder; after procuring his acquittal, by a fictitious trial; after marrying him to the Queen, by fraud, and force; after drawing their swords, to free the Queen, from his thraldom, and for his punishment; perfidiously took the Queen prisoner, at Carberry-hill, and allowed Bothwell to escape, deliberately: Such conduct is an evident proof of guilty conduct. Morton, and Maitland, who acted, merely, as the agents of Murray, now committed the Queen to Lochleven castle, *till they should do justice on Bothwell*[a]. And it may be allowed, that they

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[z] The Prince was crowned, says Cecil, *with all the ceremonies* thereto due. Cabala, 129. Yes; but, by whose authority, was he crowned? By six nobles, in opposition to sixty: And, this fact evinces, that it was not, as he says, with a general applause.

[a] The lords restrained her, in Lochleven castle, says Cecil, *until they may come*

made great efforts to arrest Bothwell, after they knew, that he was out of reach. Bothwell had been already tried, and acquitted, by means of the two men, Morton, and Maitland, who now insidiously pursued him: and, under a legitimate government, could not have been again tried.

From the epoch of all those conspiracies, at Michaelmas 1566, Murray was intimately acquainted with the various plots; as the chief advantage of them was to result to him. When he set out, for France, on the 9th of April, he was perfectly aware of what was in contemplation. From the moment, that Morton, and other guilty nobles, drew their swords, at Stirling, for dethroning the Queen, and crowning her infant son, Murray's elevation was the great end; and the conspirators, constantly, informed him of their progress; solicited his return; and refused, to act with Throkmorton, as ambassador, till Murray's arrival[b]. His influence, and his energy, in Scotland, were sufficiently known, in France. He was even induced to swear to the King of France, and to the Queen's uncles, that he would set the Queen, at liberty, on his return, and restore her to her dignity[c]. As soon as the chief insurgents heard of Murray's arrival, in London, they sent Sir James Melvill

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to the end of their pursuit against Bothwell. Cabala, 128. The provisional government denied all access to the Queen, by ambassadors, or others, "*untill the Earl of Bothwell were apprehended,* which they hoped would not be long to." Keith, 444. The Queen, then, was imprisoned, till Bothwell should be taken, whom they allowed to escape.

[b] Cecil was the agent, who carried on the correspondence, between those conspirators, in Scotland, and Murray, in France. Cabala, 128. Cecil says, on the 26th of June 1567, that Murray's return was much desired by them. Id. Robertson concurs with this; acknowledging that, the chiefs of the conspirators held a constant correspondence with Murray, in France; and desired him to return. Hist. i, 461. Cecil gave Murray every facility to enable him to return.

[c] Keith's Pref. ix. 442. Norris's letter to Elizabeth, 2d July 1567. An ambassador arrived, in April 1568, from France, to demand the performance of his promise, Hist. K. Ja. VI. 34-5. Melvill, 96.

to meet him; and to acquaint him with the progress of their affairs[d]. Secretary Maitland met him, at Whittingham, where the death of Darnley had been concerted, and where the whole plan of Murray's inauguration, as Regent, was now settled. Murray set forward, on the morrow, to Edinburgh; and was met, by great numbers on the road: and was joyfully received into Edinburgh, on the 11th of August 1567[e]. Some time before him, had arrived, at Edinburgh, Mons. Lygnerol, a French envoy, whose feebleness was, merely, a representative of the ignorance, and inconsistency of his court[f]. Even Throkmorton, however, instructed, could make but little impression on the guilty ruffians, who now governed Scotland, and had objects of their own, to effect, which had been long determined.

Murray, and other nobles, went to Lochleven castle, four days after, to see the Queen. She held a conference with them altogether, and afterwards, with Murray alone. To the nobles, at parting she said: "My lords, you have had ex- "perience of my severity, and of the end of it; I pray you, also, "let me find, that you have learned, by me, to make an end of "yours, or at least, that you can make it final[g]." They did not expect, perhaps, that she would point her parting speech so sharply. Murray's cold, and dark conversation did not please her; as we may easily conceive, in her circumstances. He would not disclose to her what he conceived of her, whether good, or ill, or what he meant, with regard to her, of mischief, or good. This conversation was afterwards renewed with her, when he spoke more plainly; when he behaved himself more like a

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[d] Mem. 168-9.

[e] Birrel's Diary; Spottiswoode, 211; Throkmorton's letter of the 12th of August: Yet, Buchanan, and Murray's Journal, which was forged, in May following, states, falsely, that he arrived on the 14th, a proof this, how little, that farrago of falsehood is to be trusted.

[f] Throkmorton's letter to Eliz. 20th August; Keith, 444.

[g] Keith, 446.

ghostly father unto her, than like a counsellor. In conclusion, Murray left the Queen that night, in hope of nothing, but God's mercy; intimating, thereby, that some of the lords wished to put her to death: In the morning, however, he assured her of her life; but, as to her liberty, it lay not, in his power, said he:[h] and thus did he perform the solemn engagements to the French King. Favours of every sort the Queen had conferred on all those nobles, particularly, on Murray; but, never did one of them an injury, except that too many boons, which cannot easily be requited, operates as injuries, which are not forgotten. Those nobles had committed the atrocious crimes of murder, and treason, in which Murray had plainly participated. The Queen had committed no crime, being innocent of any knowledge of her husband's death; yet, may she have been chargeable with indiscretions, the greatest whereof was, in trusting such villains, as Murray, Morton, and Maitland.

The lords returned from Lochleven to Stirling on the 16th of August; and three days after, came to Edinburgh. Here, met Murray and Maitland, on one side, and Throkmorton, on the other, who endeavoured, by orders of his mistress, to obtain some alleviation of the Queen's imprisonment: But, Murray very fairly avowed, that though he had not been here, during the late action, which occasioned so great a change, yet, did

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[h] See an account of this interview, between the Queen and Murray, in Throkmorton's letter, in Keith, 445. She plainly demanded supplies of materials, for her apparel: And we see in the Treasurer's accounts of the 25th of August 1568, a great variety of articles sent to her, by Robert Melvill, in pursuance of the Regent's command; amounting to the value of £122. 15*s.* Scots.

On the 13th of October, there was paid, for transporting the Queen's *coffers*, from Holyrood-house to Edinburgh castle, - - £ 0 18 8

On the 23d of October, there were paid the Regent, for the Queen's use, - - - - - 100 0 0

On the 23d of April 1568, there was paid, by the Regent's order, for furnishing the Queen's house, in Lochleven, - - - 100 0 0

he entirely approve of it, and support it[i]. He stated to Throkmorton the conclusion of his speech to the Queen, at parting, in this manner. "Madam, I will declare to you, which be the "occasions, that may put you, in jeopardy, and which be they, "that may preserve you: First, for your peril, these be they; "your own practices to disturb the quiet of your realm, "and the reign of your son; to enterprize, to escape, from "where you are, to put yourself at liberty; to animate any of "your subjects, to troubles, or disobedience; the Queen of Eng-"land, or the French King, to molest this realm, either with "their war, or with war intestine, by your procurement, or "otherwise; and your own persisting, in this inordinate affec-"tion, with the Earl of Bothwell[k]." What was all these intimations, but so many menaces, which he meant, probably, that Throkmorton might convey to her.

On the 22d of August 1567, Murray was proclaimed *the Regent*, for obtaining whereof he had committed so many crimes[l]. He was now sole ruler of Scotland. One of his first measures was, to destroy the public seals, which bore the name, or title of the Queen. His next object was of more importance, though less innocent. It was to obtain, from Sir James Balfour, who had acted, knavishly, the castle of Edinburgh. It was readily surrendered, on the following conditions: A pardon, for his concern in the King's murder; a gift of the priory of Pittenweem; a pension out of the priory of St. Andrew's to his son; about £5000. in money; the government of the castle to the laird of Grange. These terms were readily granted; and the castle was surrendered, in the night of the 24th of August, to Murray, who immediately, made Grange the governor[m]. What corruption! But, what did Murray care, for the King's murder, having been himself a latent conspirator, who made use of Bothwell, as his cat's-paw?

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[i] Ib. 446—49. [k] Keith, 446. [l] Ib. 452; Birrel of that date. [m] Keith, 455.

His next exploit was the obtaining of Dunbar castle, in which he was aided, by Morton. He obtained this strong fortress, on the 30th of September, on terms of surrender, which were granted to the laird of Whitlaw, the governor[n]. The terms were violated; and the governor was prosecuted, as a rebel, at the instigation of Morton, who obtained a gift of his escheat[o]. Whitlaw was neither guilty, nor suspected of any concern, in Darnley's murder: But, he was prosecuted, under an illegal denunciation of the insurgent nobles, who were guilty, that whoever would not join them, should be deemed guilty of the King's murder: But, who empowered rebels to make such a law? was such a proclamation binding on any one, after the re-establishment of something like a regular government. Yet, was Whitlaw pursued to a forfeiture, by Morton, who obtained his escheat, and who owed him a grudge, for marrying the widow of his elder brother[p]. Such was the violence of Murray's government, as Regent; evincing, that usurpation ends, generally, in tyranny. The Regent's expedition to the southern borders, where he was attended, by Morton, is a proof of this: On pretence of punishing the border thieves, they made an expedition to the south, in order to chastise several respectable gentlemen, who were not favourable, either to the late usurpation, or to the viceregal government[q]. There were large districts, and some towns, who were extremely dissatisfied with this guilty revolution, and the corrupt result:[r] Dumfries would not suffer the herald to proclaim the Regent, within its limits. There was, during the autumn of 1567, a considerable ferment, within the realm; owing to the narrow ground, on which had been founded the

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[n] Keith, App. 150-1. Crawf. Off. State 99; Godscroft, 300: Hist. K. Ja. VI. 32; Birrel, 12.

[o] Officers of State, 29; Privy Seal Reg.

[p] Godscroft, 277-8. [q] Keith, 459—64. [r] Keith, 460—61.

late revolution. Murray endeavoured, with some success, to mollify the Hamiltons, and their connections, against the meeting of Parliament, on the 15th of December 1567[s]. Neither Elizabeth, nor the French, were better satisfied with Murray, and his faction, who knew, however, that Cecil would protect them, from the English, and they feared not the French[t].

The time was now come, when Morton was to be rewarded, for all his murders, and his treasons. He already had received the estate of Whitlaw, who was forfeited, without a law[u]. On the 11th of November 1567, he was restored, by Murray, to the office of chancellor, which was taken from Huntley[v]. After the forfeiture of Bothwell, "his foul complotter in the horrid "deed," the Regent, conferred on Morton the office of great admiral of Scotland, the office of high sheriff of the shires of Edinburgh, and Hadington, was given him by Lennox, in fee, and heritage:[w] Morton enjoyed all those lands, and offices till his forfeiture, for the King's murder, in 1581. Such were the villainies of that age, which remain to be detected, by the present!

The great object, which induced the calling of the Parliament, on the 15th of December 1567, was, to legalize the re-

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[s] Keith, 465. [t] Ib. 462, who quotes Camden.

[u] In October 1567, Morton obtained, from the Treasurer, by Murray's order, £433. 6s. Scots, for his expenses, at the siege of Dunbar. Treasury accounts.

[v] Crawf. Off. of State, 99, who quotes the Privy Seal Record. The reader will easily recollect, that Morton had lost this office; because he had committed high treason, in attacking the palace, and assassinating Rizzio, in the Queen's presence: And had, also, forfeited his life, if she had not pardoned him, at Christmas 1566: Within a week, after his entering Scotland, he entered into a concert with Bothwell, and Maitland, for the King's murder: From that time, to the present, Morton continued, in a constant state of conspiracy, against the Queen; as his earldom had been confirmed, by the Parliament of April 1567.

[w] Id. Of the sheriffship, Morton obtained a charter, from the Regent Lennox, on the 2d of October 1570. Crawford's MS. account of the Earls of Bothwell.

volution, which had placed the Queen, in prison, and her son, upon her throne. The Regent, and his followers, did not, as we have seen, feel quite easy, either at home, or abroad. And, measures were taken, by the ruling powers, to bring, as great a number of partizans, into Parliament, as possible.

There appear to have been many previous considerations, concerning the main point. When the Queen was sent to prison, on the 16th of June, Morton, and his five complotters had no charge against her; as we know from the inanity of their warrant of commitment. At the hour, when she was to be called upon, with threatening tone, and a loud voice, to sign the instruments of her resignation, they had obtained, after more than five weeks inquiry, as we learn, from Throkmorton, documents, to prove the following charges: (1) Of *tyranny*, while Murray, acted as her minion, and Maitland, as her secretary: (2) Of *incontinency*, with Bothwell, the conspirator with him, and others, of which they had sufficient proof, said they: (3) Of *the murder of her husband*, whereof, said they, they had apparent proof, as well of her hand writing, as sufficient witnesses. Thus, prepared were they, to criminate the Queen, at the epoch of her resignation. They would be still better prepared, no doubt, when the Parliament approached, to overwhelm her with proofs of every kind. When Murray, as Regent, called the Privy Council, on the 4th of December, eleven days before the meeting of Parliament, the wise men therein met, with Morton, as chancellor, at their head, could find no other way to justify their proceedings, since her capture, on the 15th of June then past, and no other means, to save harmless the insurgent nobles, but her private letters, which were written, and subscribed, with her own hand, and sent by her to Earl Bothwell, who acted, meantime, as a complotter with themselves, whom she afterwards married, improvidently. This, then, being the only charge against the Queen, on the 4th of December, it is fair to ask them, what

had become of the *three* charges against her before mentioned: her *tyranny;* her *incontinency;* and the murder of her husband, with all the *proofs,* which they had recovered, and possessed, the answer must be, that they had mounted to the moon: If a graver answer be required, it must, necessarily, be, that such *charges,* and *proofs,* never existed any where, but in the confident talk of Secretary Maitland to Throkmorton, Elizabeth's envoy. It is apparent, then, that in the period, from the 20th of July to the 4th of December, Murray, and Morton, and Maitland, had shifted their ground: Her private letters, written, and signed, and sent by her to Bothwell, were the only proofs, which they now brought against her: But, where, and when, and how, were those interesting letters found? Morton, the falsifier, averred, that not far from Edinburgh castle, on the 20th of June then passed, he had intercepted Bothwell's servant, Dalgleish, bearing a gilt box, full of the Queen's private letters, from Sir James Balfour, the governor of Edinburgh castle, to Bothwell, at Dunbar. Such is the averment of this falsifier; this assassin of Rizzio; this murderer of the King. Dalgleish was still alive: Was he sent for, and examined? No. Was he examined when taken? No. He was examined on the 26th of June, six days after his interception, about the King's murder; yet, not a word was asked him, about the boxful of letters. Was Sir James Balfour, who was sitting in the Privy Council, on the 4th of December, examined, on this interesting subject? No. Was Morton, himself, examined? No. Was there any examination, at all, on this subject? No. Were the box, and letters, laid before the Privy Council, on that occasion? No. The record of that Privy Council is *silent,* on this head; and, it only says, that such letters existed somewhere: They were not, therefore, produced, before the eyes of the privy counsellors:* Now; what does not appear,

* Goodall, Tytler, and Whitaker, took it for granted, that the letters, in ques-

must be supposed, in all fair discussion, *not to exist*. When the noble insurgents entered Holyrood-house, they took possession of the Queen's plate, jewels, and other moveables, as well as her private papers, which were deposited there: But, did they find any letter, or paper, or writing, which would, in any manner, verify, or support, those supposititious *privy letters*, mentioned, in the act of Privy Council, but not produced? The answer must be, that no such discovery was ever pretended. Now; the only affirmative proof, which was brought of the existence of such supposititious letters, was the averment of Morton, the *falsifier*, the *murderer*, the *traitor*: But, those circumstantial negative proofs, which have been adduced above, would weigh down, in the fair estimate of reason, and judgment, a thousand such averments of such a man.

Murray, Morton, and Maitland, suspected the validity of their own judgments, with regard to those supposititious epistles, when they introduced the Queen's marriage with Bothwell, as a subsidiary proof. They do not, indeed, mention any of the circumstances, attending that marriage, whether it were affectionate, or forced. There is an act of the Privy Council, on the 21st of July 1567; stating, that Bothwell had arrested the Queen on the highway; had carried her forcibly to his castle of Dunbar; and had therein coerced her, till she consented to marry him. But, consent, and coercion, stand opposed to each other: If she was coerced, she did not consent; and if she did not consent, what proof was her marriage, with that ruffian, of her knowledge, or privity, as to her husband's

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tion, were produced both before the Privy Council, and the Parliament: But, the records of both are *silent;* and this *silence* proves, that they were not laid before either. I have found, in the Paper Office, a genuine copy of the record of that Privy Council, which was sent up, at the time, to Cecil, in the Scotish language, and which I have collated with Goodall's copy, in Old English, vol. ii. 62, and they do not vary; so that the want of such a record need not be hereafter objected.

murder? The answer must be, that such a marriage was no proof, that she was in any manner guilty. The Parliament of December 1567, which attainted Bothwell of the murder of her husband, declared him guilty of treason, on three heads; (1) that he had arrested the Queen's person on the road; (2) that he had carried her, forcibly, to his castle of Dunbar; and (3) that he had coerced her to agree to marry him; and, on those three grounds, the Parliament forfeited Bothwell: But, the Parliament, incidentally, freed the Queen of any guilt: because she could not be guilty, if those three facts were true. Such, then, were the two justifications, which Murray and his faction set up, for themselves; supposititious letters, which they did not produce, and a marriage, which they themselves enabled Bothwell to effect, by coercion, rather than consent: Yet, such justifications did they resolve to brush through the subsequent Parliament; trusting that there would be no objections; and that their assertions would be received, as gospel.

Buchanan supposed, with the most egregious blunder, that the Parliament met on the 25th of August, instead of the 15th of December; and insisted, that this assembly was so numerous, that no one could remember such a concourse. Keith charges this writer with two wretched defects, *inaccuracy*, and *infidelity*, which are the more reprehensible, says he, as this historian was then at Edinburgh: But, Keith did not advert, with sufficient precision, that Buchanan wrote falsehood, deliberately, for the purpose of deception. The question between them, as to the members, in the Parliament, of April, and of December 1567, may be settled, in the following manner, from the Parliamentary record: The Parliament of April had the greatest number of nobles, and other respectable men: The Parliament of December had the greatest number of representatives, from towns, who had been studiously summoned, as ignorant zealots, who were most capable of any impressions, whatever diligence may have been used, by the Regent, to

bring voters into his first Parliament. Yet, was it supported, by armed men. The assembly of the church appears to have met, about the beginning of December; and seems to have acted, as agitators to the ensuing Parliament[y].

Morton, the King's murderer, presided, in this Parliament, as chancellor. His nephew, Angus, a boy of fourteen, carried the crown; and sat, and voted, with his guilty kinsman. The acts of this Parliament were such, as might have been expected from such legislators, so called, on such an occasion[z]. There was, particularly, passed an act, touching "the de- "mission of the crown; and his majesty's coronation[a]." Secondly, there was an act, touching "the constitution of James, "Earl of Murray, Regent[b]." Thirdly, there was an act, touching the King's oath, to be given, at his coronation;[c] Against this oath requiring all future kings, "to be careful "to root out of their kingdom all hereticks, and enemies to the *true religion*," King William protested, we may remember, that it should not bind him to be a persecutor: Whereupon, the Scots commissioners assured the scrupulous King, that the oath did not mean what it declared: Those commissioners were never thanked, for their exposition, so contrary to the real design of that persecuting statute, so different from Mary's act of toleration.

In the meantime, the church assembly presented the following article to the Parliament, as they seem, also, to have done to the Privy Council of the 4th of December: "This present "assembly considering the detention of the Queen's grace, in "the house of Lochleven, [no manifest declaration made of "the occasion thereof:] Wherefore, they, as a member of the "commonweil of this realm, not only for themselves, but

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[y] Keith, 584-5; Acta Parl. iii. 35—9.

[z] See them, accurately, stated, in the *Acta Parliamentorum*, iii. 1—45.

[a] Ib. 11. [b] Ib. 13. [c] Ib. 23.

" also in the name of the common people thereof, desires, and " most humbly desires the Lord Regent, and Estates, of Par- " liament, to open, and make manifest to them, and to the " people, the cause of the detention of the Queen's grace, in " the said house; or else to put her to liberty furth of the " samen; so, that they, and the people may . . " . . of . . their hands." The Parliament could not but find, that such a desire was reasonable. And this finding, and that desire, were followed, by the act of this same Parliament; touching *the retention* of our sovereign lord's mother's person[d]. Now, this statute is nothing more than the abovementioned act of Privy Council of the 4th of the current month; changed, indeed, somewhat, in the wording of it, and a little, in the sense: Like the Privy Council, the Parliament now declared, that every thing done, by the insurgent nobles, to the Queen's person, and property, was owing to the Queen's own fault:[e]: In so far as, by divers private letters, *written wholly with her own hand*, [but *not subscribed* by her, as the act of Privy Council stated] and sent by her to Earl Bothwell, the chief murderer of her husband; and, by her pretended marriage with him, soon after, she appeared to be privy, and active, in the murder of her husband. Such, then, is the substance of this act of indemnity, which is exactly the same, as the indemnities stated, in the act of Privy Council; only the Queen's letters, which formed the great justification, both of her imprisonment, and the justification of those, who imprisoned her, in the act of council was written, and signed, by her; but, in this act, the letters are stated to be only written by her. Those important epistles were said, by themselves, to have been detected, by Morton, on the 20th of June 1567: But, what justified Morton, as his guilty asso-

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[d] Acta Parl. iii. 27.

[e] Was *in the said Queen's own default.*

ciates, when they made the Queen a prisoner, on the 15th of June, upon her joining those nobles, on terms, which they instantly violated? what justified those nobles, when they imprisoned, the Queen, on the 16th of June, in Lochleven castle? The answer must be, that they had no justification; as we might, indeed, infer, from the inanity of the warrant of commitment. The chief justification, we see, was the Queen's letters, whether written, *and signed*, or written only, by her, they could not tell; but, it is of more importance to enquire, what steps were ever taken to fortify the assertion of such a notorious falsifier, as Morton? The answer must be, that no steps were hitherto taken, to support Morton's assertion, on which both the Privy Council, ad the Parliament, *relied, without any inquiry.* The letters, as we have seen, were not produced, in the Privy Council, on the 4th of the current month: We shall, immediately, perceive, that they were not laid before the Parliament. The act is *quite silent*, on this important point: It contains no recital, that the letters were laid before the house, or were ever seen, by any of the members. *De non apparentibus, et non existentibus eadem est ratio:* What does *not appear*, in nature, or art, or in policy, must be supposed, *not to exist.* The coincidence of the two acts of Privy Council and of Parliament, in *their silence*, on this important head, is satisfactory proof, that the Queen's supposititious letters, *were not laid* before either.

It seems now to be pretty apparent, that those supposititious letters were never shown, in Scotland, where they could have been detected. They were shown, however, in England. And the Queen, no sooner heard, that her opponents had such letters, in their possession, than she ordered her commissioners to protest, most solemnly, that she had never written such letters; that there were several persons, in Scotland, who could counterfeit her writing. Here, then, have we the Queen's solemn denial, with probability, opposed to Morton's falsehood,

and Maitland's forgery, with improbability. The four first letters, in Goodall's series, were said to be written, from Glasgow, in January 1566-7, while the *Queen was elsewhere,* if we may credit public records, rather than unauthorized assertions. The period chosen, for forging such supposititious letters, was the very moment, when, being reconciled to her husband, she went to Glasgow, to bring him to Edinburgh. We may thus perceive, then, that the four letters, which were supposed to be sent, from Glasgow, were obvious forgeries[f].

At the end of the session, after the King's advocate had laid before the Parliament, the writings, and other proofs, for verifying the charges against Bothwell, and his associates, the three estates adjudged him guilty of several points of treason; to wit, for treasonably, and violently arresting the Queen's person on the high road; for carrying her, forcibly, the same night, to Dunbar castle; and therein detaining her, by violence, the space of twelve days, and by force, and fear, com-

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[f] All the well informed part of the world, with Elizabeth, and Cecil, chiefly from the letters of Bedford, and Drury, knew that Darnley was taken with the *small-pox,* the moment, he entered Glasgow, from Stirling, at Christmas 1566. The Queen knew, that he had the small-pox; as she immediately sent her own physician, to attend him. Yet, the forger makes the Queen write, from Glasgow, to Bothwell;—"He, the King, declared unto me his sickness, and that he would "make no testament, but only leave all thing to me; and that I was the cause of "his malady, because of the regret, which he had, that I was so strange unto him." Goodall, ii. 5-6.] Darnley was then so much recovered, that he was able to travel to Edinburgh; so that the incident of *his testament* was quite beside the purpose: And, the forger supposes the disease to have been *that of the mind,* when he had the *small-pox,* a fact, which both Darnley, and the Queen, perfectly knew: Here, then, is proof of the forgery: But, all those supposititious letters have been shown, by every possible mode, to be forgeries, by the acutest critics. The fifth, and other letters, from Stirling, [Goodall, ii. 37—41] in respect to Bothwell's seizing the Queen, on the road to Edinburgh, is falsified, by the act of Parliament, attainting Bothwell. [Acta Parl. iii. 5—10.] Those epistles, then, as forgeries, must give way to the denunciation of Parliament.

pelling her to agree to marry him[g]. The facts, which were thus stated, in that act of forfeiture against Bothwell, evince the innocence of the Queen; because those facts, showing a constant violence, force, and fear, operating upon the Queen, during a dozen days, she *could not be guilty*, in any sense. Sir James Melvill, who was, also, carried prisoner to Dunbar castle, informs us, that Bothwell, having the Queen thus, in his power, "boasted he would marry the Queen; who would, "or would not; yea, whether she would herself, or not.[h]" We now perceive what sort of sophistry it was in Murray, Morton, and Maitland, to insist, that the Queen must have previously known of the murder of her husband: There might have been something, in this position, had she *voluntarily* chosen him, for her husband: But, when we perceive, from their own showing, that she continued a dozen days, in a baron's castle, under violence, and fear, before she agreed to marry him, the subsequent marriage, thus enforced, supplies no proof of her privity to the murder of her husband, which was accomplished, by Murray, Morton, Maitland, and Bothwell for their *cat's-paw*, with other subordinate characters: And the Queen was made the victim of that conspiracy, whatever pretences Murray, Morton, and Maitland, set up, and forgeries they committed, to cast the guilt upon the innocent Queen, whose crown was coveted, by the ambition of Murray; whose government was hated, by Morton, and Maitland; because she had pardoned the treasons of both.

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[g] Acta Parl. iii. 8. In the copy of this act of forfeiture, which was, at the time, certified, into England, there was a material clause left out, which was restored, in that accurate work; and which is contained; within hooks [ ]. This shows what villains they were, who had the collecting of the evidence, which was to be laid before Elizabeth; and how the Queen was injured, by their villainies.

[h] Memoirs, 80; and see the subsequent paragraph: "And then the Queen "could not but marry him," &c. The Bishop of Ross, in his *Defence of the Queen*, concurs, in these representations of Melvill.

We now perceive that the *justification*, which was attempted by Murray, and his faction, for dethroning the Queen, and crowning her son, has failed egregiously: The *privy letters*, which were to cover her with shame, they were afraid to produce, in the Privy Council, or in the Parliament of Scotland, and have only involved themselves, in disgrace. The Queen's marriage with Bothwell, which was to convict her of *foreknowledge* of her husband's murder, being thus proved, by an act of Murray's Parliament, to have been forced upon her, by the treasonous violence of a dozen days durance, proves only the villainy of Murray's faction, having Morton, and Maitland for its chiefs, which, maliciously, involved an unprotected Princess, in such a choice of difficulties. Murray, and his partizans, thus stand uncovered, by any justification, the traitors, who dethroned the Queen, without a cause; the miscreants, who crowned her son, without utility; the wretches, who brought forward forgeries, to justify their own falsehoods; the flagitious villains, who attempted to cast the guilt of the King's murder, from themselves, upon their innocent sovereign; all stand before the world, as the most consummate miscreants of a miscreant age: This seems to be the only act of this session, which bears upon the detention of the Queen's person: Yet, is it curious to remark, that while it justifies, and indemnifies the nobles, and others, who arrested, and imprisoned the Queen; yet, does it not, by any distinct clause, or express declaration, provide, for retaining the Queen, in prison, after the rising of the Parliament. Murray, and his faction, plainly intended, that the Queen should be imprisoned for life; yet, seemed to be afraid to declare as much, by this act, which contains nothing but fiction, and falsehood, as the recited motives of passing it[i].

The only other statute of that Parliament, in which the

[i] Acta Parl. iii. 27.

Queen was, particularly concerned, was the act of indemnity, granted to Douglas of Lochleven, for detaining the King's mother. It recites the order of commitment, by Morton, and five other nobles, on the 16th of June, to take the Queen into his safe keeping, till further enquiry were made, into the King's murder: It also recites a declaration, which he had obtained, from the Queen, on the 28th of July, then passed, that she had not been violently treated by him; which several documents were recited, as produced, and shown to the Regent, and estates of Parliament; who thereupon legalized his conduct, and indemnified his heirs[k]. We thus see, in the practice of parliament, that the documents, whereon any act was founded, were produced, and shown, in Parliament: All except the act, for justifying the nobles, who dethroned the Queen, and crowned her son, which was grounded upon supposititious letters, that were neither shown, nor produced; because they might have been seen, by those, who could have easily detected them, with other fictions, and falsehoods.

The Parliament rose, upon the 29th of December 1567, after establishing *the religion*, and passing a variety of laws, both moral, and political. On the morrow, the Privy Council resolved, that justice airs should be held, within the several shires, the object whereof was, sufficiently, obvious, to oblige every one to obey the Regent; and to enable the Regent to harass those, who might be suspected of disaffection to him[l]. As a proper prelude to those courts, four persons were executed, on the 3d of January 1567-8, who had been convicted of the King's murder: The persons, who were thus executed,

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[k] Acta Parl. iii. 28.

[l] Keith, 467-8: Both Melvill, and Buchanan, reflect on the rigour, and severity of the Regent, throughout the country, at those justice airs, which raised disaffection, when he wished to suppress it: But, the Regent was, by nature, harsh, and, by habit, unfeeling. Keith, 469.

were Dalgleish, Powrie, Hepburn, and Hay; the servants, and friends, of Bothwell: They all acknowledged their guilt; and in their declarations, acquitted the Queen of any knowledge of their guilty act[m]. It was but too much the practice, in those times, of treason, and conspiracy, to inflict rigorous punishment on the low, but to exempt the high: The Regent, the Chancellor, the Secretary of state, and other eminent men, were all more guilty of the King's murder, than those four, who suffered.

While the Regent, and his officers, thus endeavoured to execute justice, and to gain adherents, they did that, which offended many persons: The Regent, who had preachings, three times a week, caused the Privy Council to order the lead, which covered the cathedrals of Aberdeen, and Murray, to be taken off, and sold, for the maintenance of his soldiers[n]. The Regent, in the meantime, avowed his hostility to the Hamiltons, by an attack, on John, commendator of Arbroath;[o] and thereby intimated his purpose of ruling a divided people, with a rod of iron.

The Regent, at the end of March 1567-8 made a second visit to the Queen, with whatever purpose. She is said to have charged Murray with having used great rigour towards her, during the late Parliament: He, certainly, carried through laws of extreme violence against the Queen; by condemning her, without hearing her defences; and by founding strong measures, upon supposititious letters, which were not openly produced, in a free assembly. The Regent is said to have answered, that he, and his associate nobles, could do no less, for

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[m] Their declarations are in Anderson's Collections; and the remark, "that they "acquitted the Queen," is in the Bishop of Ross's *Defence:* Not a word was ever uttered, by Dalgleish, about the boxful of letters, which Morton said he had found, in his custody, on the 20th of June 1567. The inference is, that such supposititious papers were not found, but forged.

[n] The order is in Keith, 468. [o] Id.

their own security, as they had effected her imprisonment; so that they justified one crime, by committing another. This answer contains much truth; but, it may be doubted, whether so artful a statesman would avow so plainly what he had an interest to conceal[p]. The Queen is next made to talk of marrying George Douglas, the brother of the Laird of Lochleven: But, it was forgotten, that she was already a married woman[q]. It seems more certain, that she attempted to escape, on the 25th of March, from Lochleven castle, in the disguise of a laundress; and had well nigh effected her purpose, by means of George Douglas, the youngest brother of William Douglas of Lochleven, the Queen's gaoler, as well as half brother of the Regent; being all the children of Margaret Erskine, the mistress of James V, whom Sir Robert Douglas, afterwards married: Those Douglases were of course legitimate; the Regent Murray was illegitimate. George Douglas, having thus failed, and being turned out of the castle, and island, was not, however, driven from his purpose: He gained to what he supposed the noble design of effecting the liberation of a Queen, William Douglas, an orphan boy, who was then under eighteen years of age, who had been brought up, in Lochleven castle:[r] This boy was quite equal to the trust put in him; as he was sly, and silent, enterprizing and persevering. Such were the two persons, who chiefly effected the escape of the Scotish Queen, from Lochleven castle.

There arrived, soon after, Mons. Beaumont, a French ambassador, to put the Regent in remembrance of his solemn

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[p] Drury's letter to Cecil, 3d of April 1568, in Keith, 469. [q] Id.

[r] Leslie's Defence, 46; Blackwood speaks of him, as a boy of 16, or 17; and Calderwood's MSS. calls this boy William, *the laird's bastard brother:* But, this could not be, unless he had been much older: For the laird's father, Sir Robert Douglas, fell, in Pinkiefield, 1547, one and twenty years, before this time. This boy, William, was, afterwards, distinguished, by the appellation of *Little* Douglas; being of small stature.

engagements to his master, to enlarge the Scotish Queen, from her imprisonment: and to claim his punctual performance. On the 27th of April, the ambassador discussed with the Regent this business, which was so important to the Queen. But, the Regent was at no loss, for shuffling answers, whence the French King might have perceived his own weakness, in trusting to the promises of a faithless man; and whence it might have been inferred, that his purpose was, to retain his captive, for life, in prison[s].

Yet, whatever might be the Regent's purpose, in regard to his sister, to whom he owed so much; yet, was he disappointed in a manner, which he did not foresee. He had heard of the Queen's former attempt to escape, from her confinement, notwithstanding his menaces of death, in case of her failure. He had been often warned, as it should seem, that there were many, and persevering intrigues, to free the captive Queen, from her unmerited imprisonment. Yet, the Regent, trusting to his own sagacity, or deluded, by flattery, or folly, did not adopt any measures of prevention, except, that his half brother, George Douglas, who had been recently detected, in trying to free her from prison, had been turned out of Lochleven castle. Yet, did he persevere in his generous purpose, of rescuing a captive Queen; owing to whatever motive of interest, or commiseration, or attachment, to an elegant Princess of five and twenty. He engaged, in his generous purpose, the boy, William Douglas, who was more artful, or fortunate, than he had been. On Sunday, the 2d of May 1568, at seven, in the evening, while the family were, at supper, this boy contrived, to steal the keys of the castle, and let the Queen, and her maid, out of the stronghold; and locking the gates, behind them,

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[s] Cabala, 136; Life of K. Ja. VI. 34-5; Melvill's Mem. 90, who says that he had obtained, for the ambassador, a sight of the Queen, in her captivity. Mons. Beaumont, afterwards, saw the Queen, at Hamilton.

so as to prevent the pursuit, he put the fugitives into a small boat, and rowed them to the appointed landing place[t]. Her old, and faithful servant, John Betoun, had been employed, during several weeks, in carrying messages, from Lochleven to Hamilton, and from Hamilton to Lochleven, in concerting the Queen's escape. This worthy, and intelligent man, was waiting upon the shore, with George Douglas; and these zealous men, knowing from an appointed signal, that the Queen was safe on board the boat, gave notice to Lord Seaton, and James Hamilton of Orbieston, who approached, with their faithful followers: They soon mounted the Queen, and her maid, on horse-back; and gallopped to Lord Seaton's house of Niddery, in West Lothian, for the night: and early on the morrow, she was conveyed safe to Hamilton, accompanied by her two deliverers, George, and William Douglas[u].

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[t] Keith, 471; Melvill tells this story, in this manner: In the meantime, the Queen was conveyed out of Lochleven, by George Douglas, the laird's brother, and the Regent's half brother, who was, for the time, in some evil terms with them. The old lady, his mother, was also thought to have been upon the council, in this action. My Lord Seaton, and some of the house of Hamilton, and divers of their dependents, received her Majesty, at her landing out of the Loch, and conveyed her to Hamilton. Mem. 90. Lesley's Defence, 46: Blackwood; Hist. K. Ja. VI.; Birrel; Spottiswoode, 215: Lesley, and Blackwood, are the most accurate.

[u] Hist. K. Ja. VI. 35-7. They both had pensions, for their lives, from the Queen, who never forgot their services. They both accompanied her to Carlisle. In May, 1571, the Queen wrote, from Sheffield, to Elizabeth; requesting her protection for George Douglas, who was going into Scotland. Orig. in French, Calig. C. III. 72. In July 1575, he went to France, to obtain the money, or pension, which was there due to him. He saw the Queen, as he passed through England. This money obtained, he returned to Scotland, and married the Lady Barery, near Lochleven. Murdin, 283. George Douglas was sent, by K. James in July 1580, to the French court. Calig. C. VI. 55. There remains a letter, from K. James, to George Douglas, his ambassador, in France, in 1580, and another, from the Duke of Lennox to the same ambassador. Ib. 313. In July 1581, there is a letter, from the Queen, to George Douglas; desiring him to induce her son, openly, to espouse her cause. Calig. B. VIII. 55. George Douglas acquired the lands of Holenhill, in

There immediately repaired to the Queen a dozen nobles, many gentlemen, and so many common men, as to form an army of 6000 strong. On the 8th of May, only five days after the Queen's enlargement, there was a written engagement, entered into, for her defence, by nine earls, nine bishops, eighteen lords, and many others[v]. Those facts evince what a powerful body of every rank were attached to the Queen, after all her misfortunes. The French ambassador remarked, that he had never seen so many men, so speedily convened.

At Glasgow, where the Regent was holding courts of justice, it was not easily believed, that the Queen was arrived, at Hamilton: But, this event, at so little a distance, could not be long concealed. And the wonderful alteration, in many

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Fife, and Ashieshiels, in Tweedale. In January 1602, Sir George Douglas of Holenhill, the uncle of the late James Earl of Buchan, who married Christian, Countess of Buchan, and George Douglas's immediate elder brother, was cognosced nearest agnate, and tutor of Mary Douglas, the daughter, and apparent heir, of James Earl of Buchan. Inquisitiones, de Tutela. George Douglas left a daughter, and heiress, who married Lord Dalhousie. Wood's Peerage, ii. 273.

William Douglas, we may see, in the list of the faithful followers of the Queen, at Carlisle. In the Queen's letter to her commissioners, of the 2d of January 1568-9, she says: Also we understand, that William Douglas was *tint*, [lost,] immediately, after he had obtained his passport of her good sister; which could not have been, but, by the means of those rebels, who bear deadly hatred to all those, that has done, or do their duty to us: And she adds, that James Drysdale, one of the Laird of Lochleven's servants, had threatened to murder William Douglas; and avowed, that he would plant a dagger, in her own heart. Goodall, ii. 299. The ruffian, Drysdale, owed his life to the Queen's clemency; for he was concerned in the murder of Rizzio; and was pardoned by her. This letter shows the Queen's solicitude, about *little Douglas*. He was not lost: He found his way to Paris. Sir F. Walsingham, Elizabeth's ambassador, on the 18th of October 1572, wrote to Sir T. Smith, the secretary of state: "Little Douglas, who convoyed the Queen "of Scots out of Lochleven, departeth out of hand into Scotland; who, besides "other conference with the King, hath had long conference, with the Queen "mother, her ambassador being present." Digges, 275. William Douglas is mentioned, by the Queen, in her last will and testament, as having a pension. Gooodall, ii. 414.

[v] Keith, 472—5.

minds, and many faces, soon evinced, the great effects of this exhilarating truth. Some slipped, privately, away; others sent quietly, to beg the Queen's pardon; and not a few joined her openly: So that the Regent was advised, to retire, from Glasgow, to Stirling: But, he was not a man, to avoid difficulty; or to retire from danger. He saw, that his retirement would be deemed a flight; and that such a measure would encourage his enemies, and dishearten his friends.

The Queen's first step was to warn the Regent, to retire quietly, from his ill acquired power; and to restore the sceptre to her legitimate hands: But, he had acquired his power, by too many hazards, and crimes, to relinquish it, without a struggle. Whereupon the Queen declared, in presence of the nobles, and other respectable persons, who were assembled about her, at Hamilton, that the documents, for the resignation of the crown, which Lord Lindsay had forced her to sign, in the prison of Lochleven, were extorted, from her, by fear: She required Robert Melvill, who had been present, at the signature of those guilty papers, to testify what he saw. The convention, at Hamilton, thereupon declared the Queen's resignation to be void; owing to the circumstances attending it. Both parties now made hasty preparations, to decide that question, by the sword. But, all the wisdom, in counsel, and all the vigour of war, were on the side of the Regent. The Queen, meantime, sent John Betoun to England, and to France, to notify her escape from prison, and to solicit assistance[w]. The Queen then resided in Draffan castle, the ancient strong-hold

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[w] When Betoun arrived, at the court of England, and made known his business, both there, and in France, Cecil advised him, not to seek aid, in France, and promised him aid here: And, Cecil directed the ambassador, Norris, not to mention this matter to the King, unless Norris should learn, that Betoun had asked the French government for aid. Letter, 16th May 1568, in the Cabala, 137. It did not require this instance to prove, that Secretary Cecil was very capable of deliberate deception.

of the Hamiltons. And an attempt was meanwhile made, by the parson of Audhamstochs, to surprise Dunbar castle, for the Queen's interest; but it failed, owing to want of force, more than deficiency of enterprize. It is apparent, from the letters of Drury to Cecil, that the English government took a strong part against the Queen, in support of the Regent[x].

If we may believe Melvill, the Queen had no inclination, for warfare, nor any purpose to hazard an engagement; but, to shelter herself in the strong castle of Dunbarton; and to wait events, both from the affections of her people, and succours, from abroad. The nobles, however, who surrounded her, were too confident in their numbers, without reflecting how often the victory is won, by skill, over all the efforts of strength. The Queen, at the same time, endeavoured to obtain her object, by treaty; without adverting, that the Murrays, the Mortons, and the Maitlands, if they negotiated, it would, only, be, to deceive, and betray. The Queen's army, which was conducted by Argyle, marched from Hamilton, on the 13th of May 1568, with design to convey her to Dunbarton castle. The Regent, being informed of this intention, marched his inferior numbers, with some field pieces, to Langside, in Renfrewshire, which lying directly on the road, he, in some measure, fortified. The Queen's army attacked the village; but after a sharp conflict, were repulsed. The Queen, seeing the fate of the field, left it, with speed, attended by Lord Herries; and retired into Galloway, whence, according to Lord Herries's opinion, he could retire, by sea, either into England, or France[y]. The Queen did not stop, till she found herself in Dundreinnen abbey, near Kirkudbright, sixty miles, from the unfortunate field of Langside. After a slight repast, she held a consultation, on the question, what course she should next pursue. Her friends, strenuously, objected to England,

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[x] Keith, 473-5.

[y] Mel. Mem. 91-2; Keith, 477-82.

as a country, where she could not expect any safety: yet, feeling the mortification of returning to France, as a fugitive, she resolved to trust to the recent kindnesses of her faithless cousin, rather than expose herself to the coarse malignity of the Queen-mother. This resolution, being thus unwisely taken, Lord Herries wrote, on Saturday, the 15th of May, to Lowther, the deputy captain of Carlisle; informing him of the Queen's misfortune; and desiring to know, if the Scotish Queen, should be reduced to the necessity, of seeking refuge, in England, she might come, safely, to Carlisle. Lowther wrote a doubtful answer; saying, that Lord Scroope, the warden of that march, was at London, to whom he had written; but, if the Queen should be pressed, by necessity, to pass the borders, he would meet, and protect her, till his mistress's pleasure were known. Without waiting, however, for this answer, which was promptly written, the Queen, with sixteen attendants, the chief of whom, was the gallant Lord Herries, embarked in a fishing boat, for Cumberland; and, on the evening of Sunday, the 16th of May 1568, arrived safe, at Workington. On this occasion, the unfortunate Queen had not a second habit, nor a shilling in her pocket. She immediately wrote, however, to her good sister; informing her of her arrival, and of the cause of her adventure. The Scotish Queen seemed, at first, not to wish to be known; but, the neighbouring gentlemen, hearing that certain strangers had landed there, from Scotland, soon discovered in her coarse disguise, that she was no ordinary person; and they respectfully conveyed her to Cockermouth, where she remained till Lowther, Lord Scroope's deputy, assembled the country, and conducted her, honourably, says Cecil, to the castle of Carlisle, as her prison[z].

[z] Anders. Col. iv. 1—3; from a paper, which was drawn up, by Cecil, remaining, in the Paper Office. In his Diary, Murdin, 764, Cecil has stated the dates in

In the meantime, continues Cecil, that is to say, on the 20th of May, the Queen's majesty having heard, certainly, of the Scotish Queen's landing, sent express commandment to the deputy of Carlisle, to treat her with all honour, and favour, that he could, and commanded that the Lady Scroope, the Duke of Norfolk's sister, being in the north parts, should speedily repair, with other ladies, and gentlewomen, to attend on her: and further sent letters of comfort to the said Queen; and gave order, also, to the Lord Scroope, the warden of those frontiers, being then at court, and Sir Francis Knolls, the vice chamberlain, to depart in post, towards the said Queen, with letters, and messages of as much comfort, as the time will allow; who departed the 20th of May: and at their coming to her, declared the Queen's grief of mind, for her many late mishaps; and therewith gave her an assurance of her friendship and favour, that with her honour, any way she might: whereof, the Scotish Queen took great comfort, and speedily sent up the Lord Herries, as her most trusty counsellor, a nobleman of great understanding, and the Lord Fleming, whom she afterward made her chamberlain, to the Queen's Majesty. It was, moreover, ordered, that she, with her train, should be entertained with all honour, and curtesy, and a free liberty given to her servants, or subjects, to come to Carlisle to speak with

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this manner: On the 13th of May 1568, the Scotish Queen fled from the battle of Langside: On the 17th of May she came to Workington out of Scotland, by sea; writing a letter to the Queen thereof: On the 28th of May, she was under the charge of Mr. Lowther, at Carlisle. It may be remarked, that Lord Scroope's deputy, who was called Lawder, and Lowder, was *Lowther*, of the distinguished family of Lonsdale. Mr. Lowther's letter, from Cockermouth, on the 17th of May, to Cecil, in the Paper Office, proves, that the Scotish Queen arrived, *the day before*, at Workington; that on the 17th of May she came to Cockermouth; and that on the next day, he intended to conduct her to the castle of Carlisle: There is a letter from Mr. Lowther, on the 18th; saying that he had so conducted her with her suite, to Carlisle.

her, and to return into Scotland, at their pleasure[a]. Thus much from Cecil. Had all been like this! But, it is easy to see, that much of this attention to the Scotish Queen was merely affected, in order, to show fair appearances to the eyes of France, and Spain; to withdraw the Queen's attention, from her sense of captivity; and to lay a foundation of confidence, whereon might be built a large superstructure of future wrongs.

Here, must this section close; having thus conducted the Scotish Queen to Carlisle; and here may it be fit, to pause awhile; and to lay before the judicious reader, some lighter subjects.

From the Paper Office, I submit the attendants upon the Scotish Queen, at Carlisle, and Bolton, with some remarks upon the margin, by Secretary Cecil:

The Bishop of Ross,[b]
The L. Herries,
The L. Lyvingston,[c]
The L. Fleming,[d]
Mr. Hamilton, master of household,
A Frenchman, comptroler,
J. Livingston, master stabler,[e]

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[a] Anderson's Col. iv. 3-4. The letters from Mr. Lowther, in the Paper Office, evince, that the above description of Cecil is much too splendid: Mr. Lowther, in his letter of the 18th of May, says to Cecil, "that the Scotish Queen's attire was very mean; and that she had no other to change; and that she had very little money, as he conceived; and he had himself defrayed the charge of her journey, from Cockermouth to Carlisle, and provided horses, for herself, and attendants. In a letter, from the Scotish Queen to Elizabeth, in French, dated the 28th of May, "she complained, that she had now been detained 15 days, *like a prisoner*, "in the castle of Carlisle." This letter is in the Paper Office.

[b] Almost $\frac{xx}{viii}$: He was born in Sept. 1527. [c] With his wife.
[d] With his wife. [e] With his wife.

Mr. Douglas, (George),
Little Douglas (William, the orphan boy),
Mr. Beaton,
—— Bastian,[f]
Gilbert Curle,[g]
M. Nawe,[h]
The Laird of Whitlaw.
The Laird of Skirling,
Capt. Bruce,
A Pantler,
A Cooke,[i]
A Pattiser,
The Lady Livingstone,
Marie Seaton,
Curselle,
Mrs. Livingston,
Mary Bruce,
The comptroller's wife,
Bastian's wife.

The Queen's want of *apparel* ought not to surprise us; considering her late adventures. The messenger, Richard Graham, whom Scroope, and Knollys, sent to the Earl of Murray, for the Queen's wardrobe, remaining at Lochleven, returned with five small cart loads, and four horse loads of apparel[k]. Through the disguise of her apparel, Lord Scroope, and Sir Francis Knollys, saw, that she was an elegant woman. Knollys

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[f] With his wife. [g] A secretary. [h] A secretary.

[i] The Queen's meat was dressed, by her own officer.

[k] Letter in the Paper Office, from Knollys to Cecil. There were, moreover, sent, by the Regent's command, in charge of the same messenger for the Queen; as we know, from the Treasurer's accounts of the 9th of August 1568:

wrote to Cecil: "Surely, she is a rare woman: For, as no "flattery can abuse her; so no plain speech seems to offend "her, if she thinks the speaker an honest man." In another letter from Knollys to Cecil of the 28th of June, he says: "So that now here are six waiting women, although none of "reputation, but Mistress Mary Seaton, who is praised, by "this Queen, to be the finest busker, that is to say, the finest "dresser of a woman's head of hair, that is to be seen, in any "country; whereof we have seen divers experiences, since her "coming hither: And, among other pretty devices, yesterday, "and this day, she did set such a curled hair upon the Queen, "that was said to be a perewyke, that showed very delicately: "And, every other day, she hath a new device of head dress- "ing, without any cost, and yet setteth forth a woman gaylie "well."

Item—30 elns of gray taffeteis, at 50*s.* per E.	£25	0	0
8 elns of fine black velvote £6 per E.	48	0	0
30 elns of black taffeteis, at 30*s.* per E.	54	0	0
2 lb. wg^{t}. of fyne steiking silk	12	16	0
300 elns of small silken bissetis	16	0	0
25 gross of black jett buttonis	15	0	0
2 gret buttons for gowns	0	8	0
12 p^{r}. of Marikyn Schone, 8*s.* per pair	4	16	0
4 p^{r}. of mulis, [slippers]	2	10	0
To Richard Graham for his expences, 50 crowns of the sun, 35*s.* each	87	10	0
Scots	£266	0	0
On the 12th of August, there was also paid, by the Regent's order to Servay de Condé, for expenses made, by him, in the Queen's affairs	£13	13	9

SECTION XI.

From Mary's Arrival in England, till the End of Elizabeth's Enquiry.

THE Scotish Queen had scarcely arrived, in England, when an acrimonious dispute arose between individuals, with regard to the appropriate person, who had a right to detain her. The Earl of Northumberland claimed her, as she had landed, within his liberty, as his prize. Mr. Lowther, as deputy warden of that march, claimed her, as his prisoner; as she had come within his charge, without a passport. The earl obtained, from the council at York, an order upon Mr. Lowther, to deliver the Scotish Queen to the earl, which he refused to obey[1]. Sir Francis Knollys, hearing on his journey northward, of this dispute, wrote to that high minded earl, that he would do well not to press his pretensions, till they were settled, by Elizabeth, to whom the authority of deciding such a question belonged. The earl, however, came to Carlisle, and demanded the Scotish Queen, to be delivered to him, which, being refused by Mr.

[1] The warrant, which was dated the 19th of May, directs "that she and her attendants should be well, and honourably, used, but, special care to be taken, that "none of them should escape." [Paper Office]. The earl's motive appears not: But, it is certain, that even, in that age, the sons of some of the Scotish nobles remained prisoners, in England, for want of greater ransoms, than they could pay. On the 18th of May 1568, the earl notified to Secretary Cecil the Scotish Queen's arrival, within his *liberties*; and intreating that she might not be delivered to any other charge, than his own.

Lowther, the haughty noble called him *varlet;*[m] saying that he was too low a man, to pretend to such a charge[n]. It is possible, that the earl's disappointment, on this occasion, may have been one of the ingredients, which formed the mass of discontent, that induced this ill fated noble, to go into his unsuccessful rebellion[o].

According to the usual policy of Elizabeth, and Cecil, the Scotish Queen was guarded, as a prisoner, without being declared to be one. The vice chamberlain, Knollys, who was entrusted, as the principal warder of the Scotish Queen, wrote frequently to Cecil, desiring to know, precisely, whether he was to treat her, as a prisoner:[p] But, Cecil knew how to be silent, when he wished not to avow his meaning. Many of the Scotish people resorted to Carlisle, to avoid the violence of Murray. And, the wardens seeing so great a concourse, so near the borders, were the more anxious to remove her *further within the realm:* Meantime, arrived, at Carlisle, from Berwick,

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[m] Documents in the Paper Office.

[n] On the 18th of May, Knollys wrote to the earl; desiring him, in the Queen's name, not to meddle any further, about removing the Scotish Queen, till his arrival, at Carlisle. [Paper Office.]

[o] There is a letter from Mr. Lowther to Secretary Cecil; stating that the gentlemen of Cumberland, and Westmoreland, and the sheriffs, had been very remiss, in their duty: as very few of them came forward, on the Queen's arrival, notwithstanding he had warned the country, "by beacon." [Pap. Office.] Those gentlemen seem not to have considered the Scotish Queen, as an enemy, or her arrival to be hostile.

[p] Letters of the 2d, and 8th, and 11th of June 1568, in the Paper Office. Scroope, and Knollys, wrote to Cecil, on the 11th of June: "They had charge, "not to let her escape; but, had no authority to detain her, *as a prisoner*; and she had courage enough, to escape, if opportunity offered: Lord Scroope would not hold *so slippery a charge*, without she was declared a prisoner; in which case, he recommended Naworth castle, for the place of her detention, as being moated round; and this would be the plainest, surest, and most honourable mode of proceeding: Requesting particular directions, whether she was to be "moved further "into the realm," and where, or whether, she was to be set at liberty, to return.

a hundred harquebuziers, to act under the direction of the wardens; so that preparations of force were thus made, whatever might be resolved, as the policy to be pursued[q].

At length arrived the directions of the Privy Council, to remove the Scotish Queen, to Bolton castle, a house of Lord Scroope's, in the Northriding of Yorkshire, Hangwest hundred, lying between Escrig, and Middleham[r]. The Queen did not willingly assent to this removal; as it savoured of captivity, which was not avowed: and which she did not readily believe[s]. From Elizabeth's usage of her, the Scotish Queen thought it to be that of a prisoner. As Sir George Bowes

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[q] There is a letter, in the Cotton library, from Knollys to Cecil, 15th June 1568, at Carlisle; giving an account of the Scotish Queen's pastimes; as follows: "Yesterday, her grace went out, at a postern, to walk on Playing-green, towards "Scotland: And we, with 22 halberdeers of Master Read's band, with divers gentlemen, and other servants waited upon her;—where about 20 of her retinue "played at foot-ball before her the space of two hours very strongly, nimbly, and "skilfully, without any foul play offered, the smallness of their ball occasioning "their fair play. And before yesterday, since our coming, she went but twice out "of the town, once to the like play of foot-ball, in the same place, and once she "rode out a hunting the hare, she galloping so fast, upon every occasion, and her "whole retinue being so well horsed, that we upon experience thereof, doubting "that, upon a set course, some of her friends out of Scotland might invade, and "assault us, upon the sudden, for to rescue, and take her from us; we mean hereafter, if any such riding pastimes be required that way, so much to fear the endangering of her person by some sudden invasion of her enemies, that she must "hold us excused, in that behalf."

[r] Cabala, 138. It is mentioned, by Leland, i. 90, &c.; by Gibson's Camden, 919.

[s] Scroope, and Knollys, informed Cecil, on the 26th of June, "that they had "used every persuasion, in their power, to induce the Scotish Queen to remove "from Carlisle, without success; and, therefore, intended to tell her, plainly, that "it was Q. Elizabeth's *order*;" but they think, she will insist on seeing a letter, signed by the Queen herself, before she will consent: For, expecting that Elizabeth would relent to her, "she grows unruly." They meant, however, to remove, on Tuesday, or Wednesday next. In the Paper Office. The expenses incurred by the Scotish Queen, from her arrival to the 12th of June, amounted to £228. 1. 5½.

arrived, with forty armed horsemen, on the day, proposed for her removal, the Scotish Queen thought, they had authority to remove her, by force, if she did not go willingly: And, Lord Skirling, one of her attendants, desired Lord Scroope, and Knollys, to witness, that she removed, willingly, and not by force. On the 16th of July 1568, the Scotish Queen arrived, at Bolton castle[t].

In the meantime, the Scotish Queen remained in charge of Mr. Lowther on the 28th day of May 1568, when Lord Scroope, and Sir Francis Knollys arrived, to assume that trust. On the same day, the Earl, and Countess of Lennox, demanded justice against the Scotish Queen[u]. This seems to be connected with *certain imaginations, how to restore the Scotish Queen;* one whereof is, that it is both honourable, and fit, for the Queen of England, to hear, and decide, any controversy, moved for the crown of Scotland; for that, of ancient right, it appertaineth, to the crown of England[v]. This last hint led on to a question, which was put, by the English commissioners, to the Scotish: If they acknowledged the feudal superiority of England over Scotland? But the commissioners would not acknowledge what was in itself untrue. Had this question been answered, in the affirmative, it would have shortened the enquiry: They needed, only, to have indicted the Scotish Queen, as a subordinate feudary of England, for the murder of her husband: Murray, and Morton, and their associates, would have proved her guilt, upon their honours, and consciences, whereof they had none; and Elizabeth would have had only the simple ceremony of ordering her execution, and then punishing her secretary, for obeying her formal orders[w]. All this was prevented, by the denial of the

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[t] Cecil's Diary. Lord Scroope's castle was frequently called Bowton.

[u] Cecil's Diary of that date. Murdin. [v] Anderson's Coll. iv. 36-7.

[w] The Scotish Queen's commissioners protested, on the 7th of October 1568,

Scotish commissioners; as they knew, that they could not have returned to Scotland, if they had acknowledged the feudal superiority of the one kingdom over the other.

On the 4th of June, Lord Herries arrived, at Greenwich, with the Scotish Queen's letters, and solicitations, which did not make much impression on Elizabeth's understanding, or her heart. She answered, however, by Secretary Cecil, that she meaneth to take her, and her cause, into her protection; and according to the justice of the cause, will prosecute her adversaries. Elizabeth had not received her, personally, on account of the public suspicion of so horrible a crime: Yet, she neither condemns, nor acquits her, until she hear what may be said therein. The point, wherewith Elizabeth was chiefly touched, was, that the death of her husband was not sufficiently avenged; and her marrying so early the person, who was known to be the principal murderer, who had a lawful wife alive, from whom he divorced himself, to marry her[x]. Cecil seems, thus, to have mixed up the sweet, with the sower, so artfully, as to affect the Scotish Queen's tenderest sensibilities. In this mixed style of flattery, and fraud, a great variety of letters, and other documents, were, during the following months, sent to the Scotish Queen, to delude, and frighten, to irritate, and tranquillize her[y]. In the midst of this scene of deception, Elizabeth wrote an impressive letter to the Regent

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that their mistress should not recognize herself to be subject to any judge, on earth; being a free sovereign, and having an imperial crown, given her by God. Goodall, ii. 124. The English commissioners protested, that the right of sovereignty does appertain to the Queen's majesty, in the right of her crown of England. Ib. 125. There is a proclamation, by Elizabeth, on the 2d of January 1568-9; denying such a pretension; and avowing, with happy duplicity, that such a thought, as a claim of superiority over Scotland, never entered into her contemplation. Ib. 328.

[x] Anderson's Coll. iv. 66.

[y] See those documents, in Anderson's Coll. iv. 29—128.

Murray, " to come into England, with a commission, to treat, " at York, and to answer to the Scotish Queen's complaint[z]."

Murray's career of vengeance was, in some measure, stopped, by the arrival, on the 15th of June, of Middlemore, with Elizabeth's letter, beforementioned[a]. In the meantime, Murray had sent his usual Secretary, John Wood, to London, with copies of the supposititious letters of the Scotish Queen, which had been translated, as Murray affirmed, from the originals, for the perusal of Elizabeth, and Cecil; and to offer, to make a declaration to them of his whole doings[b]. The arrival of Middlemore, on the 15th of June, seems to have thrown Murray into great embarrassment; the more so, as he had so recently sent his secretary to Elizabeth; in order to lay before her Mary's supposititious epistles, with regard to which, Elizabeth remained perfectly silent. He now repeated his wish to Middlemore, that those epistles might be considered, by the English councils, and the result of their deliberations communicated to him; in order that he might know, whether they concurred with him, in thinking them decisive of the Scotish Queen's[c] guilt. Whenever those ill-fated letters came within the serious contemplation of Murray, he constantly evinces his suspicion of some defect.

It was about this time, probably, and owing to that cause, that Murray's Journal was fabricated, rather than the preceding November, as has been supposed[d]. It was plainly forged

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[z] Cecil's Diary. Murdin, 765.

[a] Middlemore left London, on the 8th of June 1568; he arrived, at Carlisle, on the 13th, at 9 o'clock, much fatigued. On the morrow, the 14th, he held a long conference with the Scotish Queen; and on the 15th of June, he pushed forward to Dumfries, where Murray then lay. Murray's Journal, which records the arrival of Middlemore, on the 15th of May, commits a mistake of only a month.

[b] See Queen Elizabeth's letter, 8th June 1568, in Goodall, ii. 73.

[c] Goodall, ii. 75-6.

[d] Whitaker, i, 418. There is this article in the Journal, which seems to be inconsistent with his theory: June 16th she passed to Lochleven; and there

to support, and illustrate, the letters, which are sufficiently obscure, from their want of subscriptions, and superscriptions, from their deficiencies of time, and place. It was plainly drawn up, long after the events; which appears, from the mistakes in the dates, and from the anticipations of many of the events[e]. And its second object, consisted, in calumniating the Queen, by showing her, constantly, alone with Bothwell, however contrary to the fact: for evincing the genuiness of those letters, which are contrary to every probability of life, as well as of logick[f].

The arrival of Middlemore, with Elizabeth's commands, on the 15th of June, at Dumfries, did not quite stop the Regent's military operations against the Queen's friends, much less prevent the forfeiture of his own foes, in the subsequent parliament of August. He knew, that Cecil would protect him, however Elizabeth might pretend to reprehend him. In fact, Cecil found reasons, for delaying the enquiry, at York, to suit Murray's purpose, rather than Mary's impatience.

Meantime, was carried on a correspondence of matchless artifice, between Elizabeth, and Murray, by which, she drew to herself an examination of the complaints of Mary against Murray; and, by the same means, Murray endeavoured, to induce Elizabeth, to prejudge the pretensions of both parties, without the knowledge of Mary. That correspondence ended,

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remained to the 2d of May 1568. In this manner is her imprisonment mentioned. And the last event, which is stated, in the Journal, is the arrival of Middlemore, on the 15th of May, not the 15th of June.

[e] For instance, in a number of articles, in January, February, March, and April 1567, it speaks, expressly, of the Queen's writing the letters to Bothwell, which they profess to have only found, on the 20th of June 1567; and which were not in existence till long after the date of their discovery: It speaks of my Lord Regent, some months before he became Regent, on the 22d of August 1567.

[f] The Regent Murray, on the 16th of September 1568, gave Morton a formal receipt, for a silver boxful of letters. Goodall, ii. 90.

at length, in the appointment of an enquiry, at York, before Elizabeth's commissioners, the Duke of Norfolk, the Earl of Shrewsbury, and Sir Ralph Sadler, in the first week of October, 1568.

Understanding that the enquiry, which Elizabeth proposed, to have, at York, was to be attended "with great ceremony, "and solemnities," Murray made suitable preparations, for the occasion: The Regent appointed himself, the Earl of Morton, and some other trusty friends, as the King's commissioners, with Secretary Maitland, George Buchanan, two of the ablest, and most profligate of mankind, with some others of a similar sort, for assistants. The Queen was not wanting, on her part, though she felt this enquiry, before another sovereign, to be degrading: As her commissioners, she appointed Lesley, the Bishop of Ross, Lord Herries, and some others of less note, for their skill, and energy; and to give greater weight, and lustre to their commission, they had, also, power, and instructions, from a convention, at Dunbarton, on the 12th of September 1568; consisting of seven earls, twelve lords, eight bishops, and eight abbots[g].

The commissioners of the three powers; of Elizabeth, Mary, and Murray; at length met, at York, early in October 1568. As this enquiry was intended to be impressive, both at home, and abroad, the commissioners heard a sermon, and took an oath, which was administered, by the dean of York; obliging them "to be honest, godly, reasonable, just, and true[h]." The

[g] Goodall, ii. 118-349-54. George Buchanan was, on that occasion, furnished, by the Regent, with a suit of black velvet, at the public expense, of £72. 17*s.* 6*d.* Henry Belnavis, who had been one of the assassins of Beaton, and was now a lord of session, was supplied with several suits of black velvet, and black cloth, which cost £231. 4*s.* 3*d.* John Wood, the Regent's secretary, and a lord of session, had also a suit of velvet, and Secretary Maitland had £200. [Treasurer's Accounts of the 27th of August 1568.]

[h] Goodall, ii. 122-3. Herries objected to the general oath; but swore, that he would say nothing but the truth, though he could not speak all, that he knew. It

preliminaries being now settled, the Scotish Queen, as the complainant, charged Murray, and his associates, with dethroning her, and sending her to prison, with seizing her revenue, and government, and with compelling her, to resign her sceptre to her son[i]. Instead of meeting these charges, directly, Murray gave in articles, to be first resolved; stating various positions, hypothetically, and desiring to know, what would be the result of different events[k]. What is this, but an apprehension of the weakness of his proofs, and the feebleness of his cause. This sort of hesitation had been already reprehended, by Elizabeth, and Cecil, as an attempt, to decide the cause, without hearing both parties. Being again told this, by Elizabeth's commissioners, Murray agreed to answer, pointedly: He, and his associates, professed, that in all their doings, they had proceeded upon good ground, and just causes; yet, were they loath, to proceed so far as, "to charge their King's mother, "with such things, as hitherto they have been content, rather "to conceal, than to publish to the world to her infamy, and "dishonour[l]." What falsehood! What impertinence! The very hypocrisy of their intimation was a demonstration of their own guilt. They had, already, charged the Queen before the Privy Council of Scotland, on the 4th of December 1567, with all that they had to lay to her charge; with her supposititious letters to Bothwell, the murderer of her late husband; and with marrying him, soon after, and thereby inferring her guilty knowledge of the murder: They had, already, laid the same charges before the Parliament, on the 15th of the same month, without hearing the Queen, or allowing an advocate to defend her; without even producing the supposititious letters, in evidence against her.

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is said, that in expectation of some good agreement, he was willing, to decline the accusation of Murray, Morton, Maitland, &c. the murderers of the late King. Ib. 116. [i] Ib. 128. [k] Ib. 130. [l] Ib. 136.

Murray, however, was soon after content, to give in a formal answer to the Queen's charge[m]. He now retold the old story, mixed up, with fictions, and falsities, which heightened the tale against the Queen, and concealed what would have convicted his partizans of the odious guilt of the King's murder. Bothwell, said they, was the chief murderer of Darnley; concealing that he acted, merely, as their *own cat's-paw:* They charged her, secondly, with marrying the murderer, which evinced her privity of the crime; concealing that, they themselves had enabled Bothwell to seize her, on the high way; to carry her forcibly to his castle of Dunbar; and therein to coerce her, to marry him[n]. Murray, also, defended himself, by saying, that the Queen had, *voluntarily*, resigned her sceptre, because she felt it too weighty, for her hand; but, we have seen what violence was put upon her, in Lochleven castle, and what tumult was used, to compel the officer, to affix the Privy Seal to the several instruments of resignation. We thus perceive, that Murray, in addition to his other villainies, now added the guilt of falsehood. But, in this sophistical answer, Murray said nothing of the supposititious letters: As he, and his coadjutors, had been affraid, to produce those epistles, before the Privy Council of Scotland, and still more, to lay them before the Parliament, which had legalized her resignation, without seeing those pretended letters; they now, clandestinely, made use of them, to make an impression against the Scotish Queen; while her commissioners had respected Murray's convenience, not to say his guilt.*

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[m] See it in Goodall, ii. 144.

[n] The act of Parliament of December 1567, which forfeited Bothwell, charged that guilty noble, with *those three points of treason,* for which the Parliament, that was called by Murray, attainted him. Now; admitting those three facts to be true (and they were true) she was not guilty; but, Murray, and his faction, were.

Elizabeth's commissioners, in their letter to her of the 11th of October, avowed to her, "that the Earl of Murray had "been content, *privately*, to shew them such proofs, as they "had, to condemn the Queen of Scots of the murder of her "husband; to the intent, they would know of us, how your "Majesty, understanding the same, would judge of the suffi-"ciency of the matter; and whether, in your Majesty's opi-"nion, the same will extend to condemn the Queen of Scots "of the said murder." These commissioners went some steps further, in their clandestine career of knavery: They received, in private, Secretary Maitland, James M'Gill, George Buchanan, and Henry Balnavis, the habitual liars, and established forgers of Murray, to a secret conference; and after stating such circumstances, as induced a vehement presumption of the Scotish Queen's guilt, in the murder of her husband, the same persons laid before Elizabeth's commissioners various documents, all showing the guilty conduct of the Queen of Scots: They afterwards laid before the commissioners the whole contents of the gilt box, consisting of letters, sonnets, promises of marriage, and other writings, which discovered such inordinate love between her, and Bothwell, as every good, and godly man must abhor: The commissioners, in the same dispatch, sent up to their inquisitive mistress literal extracts, from the same letters, in the vulgar language: The commissioners do not express the least doubt of the genuineness of those writings; as those men, constantly, affirmed, and offered to swear, that they were all genuine documents. The world before never witnessed a more guilty scene. The English commissioners had heard a sermon, at the opening of their commission, on the duty of doing to others, as they would wish, that they should be done unto; they had taken an oath, to act uprightly, and religiously; they were bound, by honour, to do common justice to the Scotish Queen: Yet, did they thus act knavishly, and partially, in opposition to their oaths, their religion, and their

honour[o]. Sadler was not, in the least aware, that he thus preserved documents, which would show to posterity, how perjured he was, and how basely he had discharged a very high trust.

But, the time came, at length, when the guilt of the Duke of Norfolk was, sadly, pressed upon him. When he was arraigned, for the folly of endeavouring to marry the Scotish Queen, Barham, Elizabeth's learned serjeant, who opened the prosecution against the unfortunate Norfolk, insisted, in aggravation, that having at York, taken an oath, to act honestly, and yet had acted knavishly, he thereby became a perjured man[p]. It required not, indeed, the learning, and ingenuity, of Serjeant Barham, to prove, that the English, and the Scotish commissioners, by their disingenuous proceedings, at York, after such oaths taken, all became, thereby, perjured, men!

To Murray's answer, before those guilty commissioners, the Scotish Queen lost no time, in giving in a very full, and satisfactory reply; explaining many points, which had been charged against her, and denying others:[q] In her instructions to her commissioners, the Queen said: In case Murray, and his associates, allege, that they have any writings of mine, whereby they infer presumptions against me, in that case, ye shall desire the principals to be produced, and that I myself may have inspection thereof, and make answer thereto: For, ye shall affirm, in my name, I never writ any thing concerning that

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[o] Goodall, ii. 139—43: See Sadler's St. Papers, lately published, ii. 337—40: The special words, in the Queen of Scot's letters, written with her own hand to Bothwell; declaring the inordinate, and filthy love betwixt her, and him. Those letters profess to be extracts, from the well known letters, which were said to be written by her, from Glasgow. But, we have seen, that the records of Scotland evinced, that the Scotish Queen was not, in Glasgow, but *elsewhere*, at the time. And the state papers demonstrate, that the Queen of Scots was, at the same time, reconciled to her husband.

[p] Sadler's St. Pap. ii. 341-2.

[q] Goodall, ii. 162.

matter to any creature: And, if any such writings be, they are false, and feigned, forged and invented, by themselves, only, to my dishonour, and slander: And there are divers, in Scotland, both men, and women, that can counterfeit my handwriting, and principally such, as are in company with themselves[r]. The Queen's solemn denial is, surely, superior, in questions of probability, to the assertions of such perjured men.

But, when other considerations are recollected, her exposition is sufficient, to induce a presumption of forgery. As to the discovery of the boxful of letters, by Morton, the falsifier, we may remember, that there were no examinations, to support his assertion; though the carrier of the box was under Morton's command. The whole conduct of the conspirators, as to the finding of those letters, only evince, that they had been forged, rather than found. The Queen was reconciled to her husband, at the time, when she is said, to have written such abominable epistles to Bothwell. The records evince, that she was, at Edinburgh, when she is said to have written those letters, from Glasgow. The statute book, as it has been, recently, printed, establishes facts, which prove, that those letters must necessarily be forgeries[s]. If forgery be fixed upon any person, in any solemn proceeding, it will operate upon him, as a gangrene, through life. But, Murray, and his associates, were all guilty of plots, privy conspiracy, and rebellions;

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[r] Goodall, ii. 342. The Queen here points at Secretary Maitland, who wrote a very free hand.

[s] Secretary Maitland, when he was, clandestinely, before the English commissioners, mentioned two letters of the Queen to Bothwell, from Stirling, as showing the Queen's consent to her abduction, by Bothwell. But, the act of Parliament, attainting Bothwell, is express upon that point, that he seized her treasonably, and forcibly, on the road; carried her forcibly to Dunbar castle; and therein forcibly induced her to agree to marry him: Now, unless we pay more regard to supposititious letters, which the Queen asserts, she never wrote, than to a solemn statute, we must consider those Stirling letters, to be forgeries, and Maitland the forger.

were all fraudulence, falsehood and deceit. Of all these positions there were proofs enow, during the enquiry, at York[t].

In the mean time, as we are assured,[u] "The Scotish Queen "was merry, and hunted, and passed the time daily in plea- "sant manner." Yet, had she amidst all this divertisement, her fits of sorrow, and regret. On receiving "a rebukeful letter," from Elizabeth, the Scotish Queen fell into a great passion; crying, she wished she had broken one of her arms, rather than come into England; adding, that her letter to her good sister was merely a request, to return to her own country, as *a free princess:* and moreover saying, that she had not fled the light, but was willing her cause should be heard, in Westminster-hall. A second letter was delivered, on the morrow, from Elizabeth to the Scotish Queen, which pretty much pacified her[v]. In this manner, then, did the Scotish Queen spend her time, at Bolton-castle, amidst sweets and sours, in which the last greatly predominated. As the autumn advanced, she no doubt spent much of her time, in giving commissions, and instructions to her commissioners, who were to act for her, at York. In the meantime, there were

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[t] Murray, and his partizans, asserted that the Queen, while in Lochleven castle, *voluntarily,* surrendered her sceptre, contrary to the established fact of force being used, both to her, and to her keeper of the Privy Seal. Upon looking into the document, we see, that the word *voluntarily,* was inserted in the body of the instrument, which she was compelled, by Lord Lindsay's violence, to sign, without reading it: What was this, but gross deception; and Murray, who used it, a gross deceiver? There remains an able, but profligate dispatch, from the Earl of Sussex, 22d October 1568, to Cecil; wherein he says: If her adverse party accuse her of the murder, by producing her letters, she will deny them, and accuse the most of them of manifest consent to the murder, which is hardly to be denied; and her proofs will fall best out, as it is thought. [Lodge's Illustrations, ii. 1-2.]

[u] From Knollys, at Bolton castle, to Cecil, 30th July 1568, in the Paper Office. The delivering one letter, the first day, to affront the Queen of Scots, and another letter, on the morrow, to pacify her, was quite consistent with the deceptious policy of Elizabeth, and her ministers.

[v] Knollys, from Bolton castle, to Cecil, of the 8th of August 1568, in the Paper Office.

speculations upon the various modes of settling Scotland, a practice, which was then much in vogue; and the Queen's marriage was always one of the ingredients, though the speculators did not advert, that the Queen was already married[w].

The Queen, also, speculated upon events, as they passed, and had much cause, for speculation. I am uncertain, said Knollys to Norfolk, whether the Scotish Queen would allow of any reconcilement, if the odious charge should once proceed against her: Therefore, when she was inquisitive, upon my return, from York, how matters went there; saying, that she had received the answer of her adversaries to the first accusation of her commissioners; but, said she, whether will they proceed, to their odious accusations? or whether will they stay, and be reconciled to me, or what will my good sister do for me? I answered, said Knollys, that I knew no more, but that the Queen's Majesty's commissioners had full power to hear and report every thing, though not immediately. Well, said she, my commissioners shall not begin, severely; but, if my adversaries will fall to extremity, they shall be answered roundly, and at the full, and then we are passed all reconciliation: Nevertheless, as far as I could perceive by her, as long as there is no open publication of the odious accusations of her guiltiness of the murder, she may be easily brought to a reconcilement outwardly; so that she might be set in the chief seat of government again. Upon Wednesday night, came hither the Bishop of Ross, and Lord Boyd, her commissioners; and yesterday, in the forenoon, she had learned, from them, that Lord Murray, and his party, had, *privily*, uttered to your lordships [Elizabeth's commissioners] all, that they were able to alledge against her; and how that there would be a stay of proceeding, till the Queen's Majesty should give some answer; the Scottish Queen uttered divers other speeches; so that we

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[w] Knollys to Norfolk, from Bolton castle, 15th October 1568, in Goodall, ii. 158.

marvelled, how her commissioners could come, by such intelligence[x].

We have now learned, from Knollys, much of what the Scotish Queen knew, much of her ways of thinking, and much of her designs: And it is quite apparent, hopes of reconcilement were vain, while her adversaries had drawn the sword, and thrown away the scabbard: And, while they had the King, in their possession, and the law on their side, she could not hope, to re-enter Scotland, without foreign aid; and that she could not expect, while Cecil protected Murray, and Elizabeth had an interest, to retain her, in captivity. From the moment, that she learned, through her own commissioners, that Murray had done his utmost against her, she ought to have made the most vigorous preparations, for charging him with the guilt, which he imputed to her; and defending her own reputation, by every legitimate means. She continued, to dream, of being admitted to Elizabeth's presence, which had been directly inconsistent, with her protestation of being a sovereign princess: For, if she had been admitted face to face with Murray, and his coadjutors, she might have made a passionate speech, and they would have declaimed, more furiously, against her; and she would have thus been tried, by a foreign power, which was inconsistent with her honour.

It was surely time, to advocate the enquiry of York to Westminster; considering what clandestine practices had been there admitted. New commissioners were now appointed; new oaths, for faithful performance were taken; and under the eyes of Elizabath, and the management of Cecil, artful as it was, similar knaveries were practised.

A considerable change now took place. At York, the Scotish Queen was admitted, as complainant against Murray: But, after the advocation, Murray was admitted, as plaintiff,

[x] Knollys to Norfolk of the 15th of October 1568.

and the Queen of Scots was converted into a defendant. Cecil had now received every hint, and information, as to the question between the parties, with every prejudice, in favor of Murray, against the Queen of Scots, who, however, approved of this movement of the enquiry before Elizabeth, in person. But, she ought to have insisted, for copies of the papers, which had been laid, clandestinely, before the commissioners, at York, and also for an authentication of them: And if so reasonable a request had been denied, to have discontinued the enquiry, by withdrawing her commissioners, and protesting against her being considered, as a party, to such unfair proceedings.

It was not till the 30th of October, that the new enquiry was opened, at Hampton court, when Cecil stated the mode of proceeding; threatened Mary with more strait imprisonment, and avowed the purpose of removing her to Tutbery. As he knew, from Knollys, what she had in contemplation, with regard to Murray, he meant to meet her with menaces. It was not till the 26th of November, that Murray, by various intrigues, was prevailed on, to give in his formal charge against the Scotish Queen[y]. Lennox soon after came before the commissioners, and claimed justice against the Scotish Queen[z]. The Queen of Scots' commissioners, after receiving this accusation, gave in a representation; retorting the charge; desiring that their mistress might be admitted to Elizabeth's presence, to defend her own innocence, and praying, that Murray, and his associates, might be arrested, as guilty murderers. Nothing could be more injudicious than this; as she submitted, if she had been received, to be tried, as a criminal, before a foreign power, that was not friendly to her[a]. Elizabeth, in her usual manner, caused Murray, and his associates,

[y] Goodall, ii. 206-7: It was signed by the Regent, and his five coadjutors: And it need only be said, at present, that it is all misrepresentation, falsehood, and deceit. [z] Ib. 208. [a] Ib. 210—13—17.

to be reprehended, for giving in this charge, which Cecil, with her consent, had solicited. Elizabeth declined to receive Mary; and the English commissioners proceeded to receive Murray's proofs, in support of his accusation. Meanwhile, Mary's commissioners gave in a plan of reconcilement, which they proposed, as from themselves, before they proceeded to answer, than which, nothing could be more injudicious. Murray, and his associates, now made oath, as to the reality of finding of the gilt-box, with the letters, and Morton gave in, upon oath, a narrative of his manner of detecting the boxful of papers[b]. They, also, proceeded to introduce witnesses, as well as a variety of papers, not one of which, in fair proceeding, ought to have been received, without great circumspection, particularly, *Murray's Journal*, which is all falsehood, and calumny. Elizabeth's commissioners, seeing so much of *foul matter*, in Murray's fiction, forgery, and falsehood, as they said, approved greatly of her majesty's refusal to admit the Scotish Queen to her presence[c]. On the 16th of December the Scotish Queen's commissioners gave in a proposal, that she might be allowed to retire to France, where she might live on her dower: She, and they, were no doubt disappointed, in the manner of her treatment, and in the mode of those proceedings: But, after such a charge against her, it was most injudicious, not to meet it, as soon as might be; and it was still more injudicious, to decline making any answer, after she had agreed to the advocation of this enquiry, without noticing the partiality of the proceedings.

In the midst of all those procedures, and protests, charges, and explanations, Elizabeth wrote Mary a letter, on the 21st of December; expressing her grief, that she had heard such matters of such great moment, to charge, and load her with;

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[b] Ib. 230—241: Morton's declaration, which he gave in, on the 9th of December, has since been suppressed.

[c] Ib. 260.

and she concluded, by wishing heartily, that she were delivered, by the justification of her innocence[d]. The same charges, and the same documents, Elizabeth had privately, and more than once heard before. Elizabeth concluded her insidious letter, with a high commendation of the Bishop of Ross; and wished, that her good sister "had many such devoted and discreet "servants." This epistle of Elizabeth, artful as it was, to Mary, was intended, at once, to mortify, and stimulate the object of her hate.

To this ensnaring epistle, the Scotish Queen said, she should have been glad, if her good sister would have brought about a reconciliation between her, and her subjects; but she never had meant, to answer farther, except personally to her good sister; adding, I am not an equal to my subjects; nor, will I be weighed in the same balance with them: She seemed much hurt, that Murray was admitted to Elizabeth's presence, while she was excluded: And, she even talked of publishing her case to the world, that all princes might be judges between her, and her adversaries[e].

All this while, Cecil, and his associate commissioners, were going on, with the enquiry, upon such partial principles, as necessarily led to the Scotish Queen's conviction; no one attending on her behalf. The very principle of this enquiry was quite inconsistent, with every legal, and equitable proceeding: There was no person present, to object to witnesses, and documents, before they were received in proof: The parties interested were admitted, to prove their own documents, by their own oaths, and by their particular signatures: The clear consequence, necessarily, was, that the most false, suspicious, and unauthorized documents were received in evidence, were

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[d] Ib. 269—71.

[e] Knollys's letter to Elizabeth of the 26th of December 1568, in the Paper Office.

received, on the oaths, and certifications of the most notorious falsifiers. Elizabeth's commissioners had taken a solemn oath, that they would act fairly, and faithfully; and yet, both the principle, and practice, of their enquiry was quite inconsistent with their oaths. There is nothing, which is so abhorrent to the constitution of this nation, as private, and partial, proceedings, which are sure to be untrue, in their practice, and unjust, in their result.

Meanwhile, Cecil adopted a measure, for terrifying the Scotish Queen, from her measure of accusing Murray of the murder of her husband. On the 22d of December, he drew up a memorial, concerning the Queen, which remains, in the Cotton[f] library; and a part of which, he sent to Knollys, the warden of the Queen. Cecil concluded his memorial, by remarking, that the guilt of the Scotish Queen, in the murder, is sufficiently proved; and that Queen Elizabeth threatens to publish it every where; in order to oblige Queen Mary, *to come to her will,* particularly on *England's superiority over Scotland.* And he sent enough of this disgraceful memorial to Knollys, for the Queen, his prisoner's perusal. About the same time, Lord Lindsey challenged Lord Herries, for saying, that some of Murray's associates [Morton, and Maitland] were themselves guilty of the very crime, which they had charged upon the Scotish Queen. Herries, disdainfully, repelled Lord Lindsey's challenge; offering to fight the guilty traitors[g]. During the months of August, September, and October, nothing could wean the Scotish Queen, from two prejudices, which enfeebled all her affairs: She supposed, if she were admitted to the presence of Elizabeth, she could gain much, by her address, and speaking; she supposed, that if she were restored to her government, upon any terms of reconciliation, with

[f] Calig. i. fol. 273—296. [g] Goodall, ii. 274; 271—3.

Murray, all would be well:[h] But, with regard to her first supposition; the Queen of Scots had not learned, from all her intercourse with Elizabeth, that she was not a personage to be gained, by address, or argument. As to the second; after all her experience, she did not know, distinctly, that another plot would be soon formed against her, which would explode, and which would end in her expulsion, or a prison; that Maitland would facilitate, by his forgeries, and Buchanan would defend, by his lies.

Elizabeth seeing that matters were coming to a serious conjuncture, wrote an artful, but insidious epistle to Knollys; instructing him to endeavour, by every means, in his power, to induce the Scotish Queen, of herself, to resign her government to Murray, and to agree to remain herself, in England, under her good sister's charge, and her son to be sent into England, for his education[i]. But, though Knollys was instructed, to move all this, as from himself, the Scotish Queen received such intimations, with great indignation; crying out, Shall I resign my sovereignty, to my rebels! No: The last words, that I shall utter, shall be those of *the Queen of Scots*[k]. What a woman! What a Princess! What a Queen, was Elizabeth! Continually saying, and unsaying: proposing, and

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[h] Knollys's letters to Cecil, during those months, in the Paper Office, are the records of the facts; and by those letters Cecil learned every thing, from Knollys, which the Scotish Queen said, and thought.

[i] Goodall, ii. 278.

[k] Ib. 303: The contents of Elizabeth's letter to Knollys seem to have been circulated on both sides of the Tweed, with some exaggerations; and as they made a great impression, in Scotland, Elizabeth thought it necessary to take off the effect of this, by her proclamation of the 2d of January 1568-9. [Ib. 328.] I never used such language, said she! I never contemplated such measures! I never claimed the custody of the Scotish King! I never aimed at the sovereignty of Scotland, directly, or indirectly!

disavowing; affirming, and denying; engaging, and disengaging: *Dissimulation* seems to have been but another name for Elizabeth! "So tedious, casual, and unfortunate," says Bacon, Lord Verulam, "are those *deep dissimulations;* "whereof it seemeth, Tacitus made this judgement, that "they were a cunning of an inferior form, in regard of true "policy; attributing the one to Augustus, the other, to Tibe- "rius, where speaking of *Livia*, he saith: *Et cum artibus* "*mariti simulatione filii bene composita*: For, surely, *the con-* "*tinual habit of dissimulation* is but a weak, and sluggish cun- "ning, and not greatly *politique.*"

Meantime, on the 24th of December 1568, came Murray to Hampton-court; to complain, that it had been rumoured, he, and his company, had been guilty of the murder, which they had laid to the Scotish Queen's charge; the rumour whereof had come from her commissioners. To this complaint Mary's commissioners made answer: That they had special command, from their mistress, to lay the said crime to their charge: and in conformity to her command, would accuse them, in her Majesty's presence; and would defend their mistress's innocence, and answer their calumnies[l]. On the morrow, they did, accordingly, make their charge against Murray, and his company, in Elizabeth's presence: And, they, thereupon, desired, to have such writings, as were produced, by Murray, against their mistress. Elizabeth thought this *very reasonable;* was very glad, that her good sister would make answer, in defence of her honour[m]. Who ever thought, otherwise, but that it was essential, in every enquiry, to see the adverse proofs, before they could be questioned, and answered: The equity of Elizabeth's enquiry consisted in *ex parte,* or *partial* proceedings, and *clandestine* examinations: But, what judge ever admitted such proceedings, without disgrace?

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[l] Goodall, ii. 283—1.

[m] Ib. 281-2.

The Scotish Queen's commissioners, now gave in *an answer to Murray's charge;* consisting of much explanation of the previous circumstances of the case: she presented, also, an answer to Murray's protestation, that he had given in, with his charge, which answer contains useful information, and solid argument[n]. But, if the enquiry should proceed to the proofs, the Queen desired to be admitted to Elizabeth's presence, to declare the justice of her cause, to explain such proofs, and to request that sufficient leisure might be given, to answer, and establish Murray's impostures and crimes: And she asked all this, in order that the world might know, that she did not think her reputation of so little value, as to trust the same, in the hands of any person whatsoever[o].

Some of the Scotish historians have remarked, that those vigorous proceedings of the Scotish Queen, seem to have proceeded, rather from retort, and revenge, than from any serious purpose, to prove her charges, and establish her adversaries guilt; particularly, as she demanded access to Elizabeth's presence, which she probably knew would not be granted, as it was unfit. If such historians meant, merely, to blame the injudiciousness of the Queen's proceedings, by making such charges so late, when they ought to have been more prompt, perhaps their observations might be easily admitted: But, if they meant to insinuate, that Murray, and his associates, were innocent, while she was guilty, and meant only, by asking admission to Elizabeth, to put a good face upon a bad matter, such historians only showed their own ignorance; as we shall, immediately, see[p]. It is, indeed, probable enough, that the

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[n] Ib. 281—293.

[o] Ib. 284.

[p] There is too much reason to suspect, that those historians derived their notions of the Scotish Queen's proceedings, from Cecil's two letters of the 14th of December 1568, and the 3d of January 1569, in the Cabala, 145-6; rather than, from the original records of the real proceedings. The Queen, more than once applied to Elizabeth, after the 25th of December 1568, for Murray's proofs, that

Queen, if she had been allowed, to prove her charge against Murray, and his associates, would have failed; as Cecil would have intercepted her documents, and witnesses, and baffled her proceedings, by every mode of circumvention.

It is, certainly, quite apparent, from the whole context of those inquisitorial proceedings, that the real objects of Elizabeth, and still more of Cecil, were to *disgrace the Scotish Queen,* by *the grossest calumny.* The ablest men, both in Scotland, and in England, concurred in this opinion, that the ruin of the Scotish Queen was to be most effectually obtained, by constant calumniation:[q] Hence, in her own country, before her expulsion, the most indifferent action of the Queen was, continually, attended, with some lie, or some forgery. She had scarcely arrived, in England, when the vice chamberlain, Knollys, her first gaoler, gave it as his opinion to Cecil, "that "she cannot be safely detained, unless she shall be disgraced

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she might answer them; particularly, on the 7th of January 1568-9, when Elizabeth proposed a compromise, instead of communicating Murray's proofs. [Goodall, ii. 298:] So on the 13th of January, when there were some important proceedings. [Ib. 311-12-13.] The Queen's commissioners protested. [Ib. 313.] On the 18th of January, Elizabeth gave Murray £5000. to pay his expenses: [Id.] when he was allowed to depart to Scotland. The Queen's commissioners continued to act till the 31st of January, when they were allowed to depart. Ib. 332. On the 2d of February, Elizabeth's commissioners made their final declaration to Mary's commissioners: Not to decide any thing, as they had obtained the charge, and Murray's proofs against Mary. They promise her good treatment; but, that she would be removed to Tutbury, in Staffordshire, under Shrewsbury, in the place of Scroope: Thus ended this disingenuous enquiry, which, instead of righting the Scotish Queen, only, wronged her still more, by calumniation; she was finally imprisoned. If to those proceedings, at Westminster, and Hampton-court, the argument of Serjeant Barham be applied, what can we conclude, fairly, but, that Elizabeth's commissioners, who took the same oath of fidelity, grossly, perjured themselves, as those, at York, had done, while Elizabeth implicated herself in their guilt, by approving of their villainies.

[q] See Sect. 1, in vol. ii.

" to the world[r]." What could the gift of £5000. to Murray, by Elizabeth, really mean, but as a reward, for Murray's charging the Scotish Queen, with the murder of her husband; and producing such a body of documents, however forged, and false, in support of such a charge. These calumniations of the Scotish Queen continued even beyond the grave, which, generally, shelters the dead, by assuaging the envious hatred of the living.

The gravest men, and ablest jurists, have concurred in opinion, that to imprison the Scotish Queen, coming peaceably into England, to seek for safety, from violence, was contrary to every law, human, and divine. In the Paper Office, there remains an elaborate letter, from the vice chamberlain, Knollys, in January 1568-9, to Secretary Cecil, in which the vice chamberlain charges the secretary, " with casting upon him *the re-* " *sponsibility of removing the Scotish Queen, as a prisoner,* " from Carlisle to Bolton castle." Let us now hear how Cecil, who was celebrated for his dexterity, and talents, defended the *justice,* and the *right,* of detaining the Scotish Queen.:—1. " She is a *lawful prisoner,* by good treaties." The same treaties, which justified Henry IV. to detain the infant son of Robert III. going by sea, in time of peace, to school: The same treaties, which justify the Barbary powers to detain all Christians, as slaves. As he quotes no treaty, the presumption is, that there was no such treaty. 2dly. " She " may not depart, till she have satisfied the wrong, that she " hath done to the Queen's majesty, in openly claiming the

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[r] See his letter, in Goodall, ii. 165: I have seen the original, in the Paper Office, dated the 20th October 1568. Sir Walter Mildmay, the chancellor of the exchequer, concurred, entirely, in this opinion. [Burnet's Hist. Reform, P. ii. 369-70.] Leicester seemed to concur, in the same sentiment. [Ib. 373.] But, above all, Cecil contributed his powerful assistance, in this nefarious purpose. The Cabala, and Digges's Ambassador, are the records of his guilt, in this respect.

" crown, and not making just recompense." Between sovereigns, the explicit disavowal of any claim is always deemed a sufficient recompense: The Scotish Queen stated a disavowal, which Cecil could not answer, that she had been a married woman, when the claim was made, by those, who had power over her, as such; but, she had never made such a claim since she became a widow. 3dly. " The Queen's ma-" jesty's *superiority over* the crown of Scotland." For this antiquated claim, he quoted no authority: Cecil did not know, perhaps, that the King, and Parliament, concurred, at the treaty of Northampton, in relinquishing, for ever, such claims: And, from that time, to the present, the two nations had made many treaties together upon fair terms of equal independence. 4thly. " The Queen's majesty is bound, in conscience, to " answer the petition of her subjects in matters of blood upon " her subjects." Lord, and Lady Lennox, as we have seen, had been brought forward, to claim justice, for their son's death, upon the Scotish Queen: To this claim, Cecil, no doubt, alluded: But, as he failed, in his preceding article, in proving the feudal superiority of the one crown over the other, this clause of blood is, also, false, as well as frivolous. Cecil showed his teeth; but, was afraid to bite[s]. When such a statesman, as Burghley, scribbled so much nonsense, on such delicate topics of law, and policy, we may easily perceive, that the Scotish Queen was detained, in England, by *mere force*, without even the form of law, the genuine title of the Barbary powers[t].

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[s] Elizabeth, by her proclamation of the 2d of January 1568-9, at the very epoch of this claim of Cecil, was obliged to disavow all those topicks of feudal sovereignty. [Goodall, ii. 328.]

[t] Were we to decide this point, according to the State Papers, and Statute Book of Scotland, two conclusions would appear most clear: (1) That Murray, and his partizans, were the murderers of Darnley: (2) That the boxful of documents, which were given in evidence before Elizabeth, were forged, by the

When Elizabeth thus placed herself, in a hostile attitude, against Mary, by keeping her, in durance, at Carlisle, at Bolton castle, and at Tutbury; she, thereby, gave the Scotish Queen, who was equally a sovereign, and equally innocent of blood, as herself, a right, to assume the same hostile attitude; and being thus enemies, by the wrong of Elizabeth, Mary acquired a moral right, of using the pistolet, or the dagger, the bowstring, or the bowl, towards such an adversary.

I will now proceed, to evince the innocence of the Scotish Queen, as well as the guilt of Murray, and his associates, in the clearest manner, and the fewest words.

The reign of Mary was a period of privy conspiracy, and open rebellion, of murders, and assassinations; whereof, she was the victim, but, surely, not the accessory: But, Elizabeth was the accessory, if not the principal, in most of those crimes, disgraceful, as they were, in themselves, and dangerous to the reigning Queen of the adjacent nation. The State papers, history, and the events, prove the facts, and illustrate the circumstances, beyond a doubt.

The same reign was, also, an age of religion, but, without morals. The religion, which became predominant, allowed the commission of evil, if good were proposed, as the end; though the evil was certain, and the good were problematical: Beaton was assassinated, for the benefit of the religion: Rizzio was murdered, in the Queen's presence, for the benefit of *the religion.* The general principle was reprobated, by the religion of Christ; but, was adopted into the practice of the fashionable code. Crime was rejected, by the Christian religion; but crime was assumed into the religion in vogue, if committed, with a religious intent. Such doctrines, and such

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murderers, to connect the Queen with Bothwell, who acted, not with the Queen, but as the mere *cat's-paw* of Murray.

practices, were rejected, by the religion, which Mary professed: Such doctrines, and such practices, were allowed, were assumed, by the religion, which Murray professed, and protected. In reasoning, abstractedly, it is apparent, then, that Murray was more obnoxious to the charge of crime, than Mary. History, and documents, demonstrate the practical truth of those general reasonings, from reference to facts, and allusion to examples.

Taking the State Papers, and the Statute Book of Scotland, in fair construction, together, they prove the previous conspiracy of Maitland, Bothwell, and Morton, for the murder of Darnley; and the subsequent convictions of those three guilty men, for the commission of the fact. But, those three criminals acted, merely, as the partizans of Murray, who assented to the plot, and profited, from its result. The guilt of those four criminals evinces the Queen's innocence; as her fortune was involved in the fate of her husband; and her dethronement, by Morton, and Maitland, with their associates, ended in the necessary effect of elevating Murray to the vice-regal chair. Bothwell acted with those guilty men, as a complotter, from the commencement of the conspiracy, till the moment of the Queen's dethronement, when he was made the victim, of their crimes: By thus acting with those conspirators, as their cat's-paw, he did not act with the Queen, as her paramour: When he had performed the murder, under their direction, and they had given him the *Queen in marriage*, as the reward, the conspirators dismissed Bothwell, from their counsels, and actions: He was no longer useful to them; they easily dethroned the Queen; by thus connecting her with the guilty fate of the victim of their villainy.

Murray's whole life was a continued plot, whose constant object was the Queen's sceptre. The epoch of this great conspiracy was Michaelmas 1566, when Murray gained Bothwell to his purpose: The conspiracy was matured in Craigmillar

castle, when the Queen refused to be divorced, from Darnley, in Murray's presence: The conspiracy was accomplished, when the Queen was dethroned, and Murray was placed in her chair. When Murray left Edinburgh, for London, and Paris, he previously knew, as well what had happened to Darnley, as what was to happen to the Queen, from their continued efforts. The conspirators corresponded with Murray, at Paris, by the agency of Cecil, who, also, knew the secret of the Queen's dethronement, and contributed to Murray's return. The Queen's sceptre was now placed in Murray's hands, by the conspirators, and not by her, who was compelled, to resign it, by those conspirators, who were the mere agents of Murray. From the middle of August, when he returned, till the middle of December, when the Parliament legalized his power, Murray, acted, merely, under the conspirator's authority. By thus receiving the regency, from the conspirators, and acting, as Regent, under their appointment, he constituted himself to be the chief conspirator, by taking up the conspiracy, where Morton, and the other complotters, laid it down. But, by thus acquiring all the benefits of the conspiracy, Murray, also, assumed the whole guilt of this atrocious plot, with its criminal adjuncts. When the violence of insurrection was laid down, by Morton, and the semblance of legality was assumed, by Murray, as regent, he incidentally, took upon himself the burden of finding legal justification, for very illegal actions: And Murray received, from Morton, the boxful of supposititious letters, sonnets, promises of marriage, which the Queen who was reconciled to her husband, was said to have conveyed to Bothwell, who, being a conspirator, had never once acted, as a paramour.

The adoption of this boxful of forgeries is one of the most palpable impostures, which disgraced that age of forgeries. The narrow space, to which those letters are confined is a proof of their forgery. Before that period began, the Queen,

and her husband, had been reconciled. When the long letter, which made such an impression on Elizabeth's commissioners, at York, was written, from Glasgow, the Queen was, at Edinburgh. In opposition to such evidence of this imposture, what proof is there to support those several forgeries? The answer must be, the mere assertion of the notorious falsifier, Morton, that he had intercepted the box, with the letters, in the hands of Dalgleish, a servant of Bothwell, carrying them, from Edinburgh castle to Dunbar castle. But, did he examine Dalgleish, concerning the box? No. Did he examine the governor of Edinburgh castle, who had the charge of the box, and was at hand? No. Were the letters, and other papers, submitted to any examination? No. Were those documents laid before the Privy Council, or the Parliament? No. When Murray attempted, by his oath to strengthen Morton's story, he only perjured himself, at Westminster, as he had already forsworn himself, at York.

When this disgraceful enquiry was advocated, by Elizabeth, to Westminster, Murray presented a formal charge against his sister, and sovereign, for the murder of her husband, though he knew it to be unfounded; as he, and his faction, were the real murderers. This charge, which had been, basely, made three times before, was nothing more than a tissue of misrepresentations, falsehood, and impertinence. He always affirmed, said he, that Bothwell was the King's murderer: Yes, as his own *cat's-paw;* as the complotter, with Morton, and Maitland, his own agents. The Queen, he affirmed, had previous knowledge of the purpose to kill her husband, and even commanded it, to be done. Murray, as the chief conspirator, had previous knowledge of the murderous purpose, and commanded the guilty deed to be done; as the State Papers, and the Statute Book, demonstrate; but, the same documents, equally, evince her innocence. The night before the

murder of her husband, the Queen spent the whole evening with him; and when she, hastily, departed, to a masque at the palace, she kissed him, and gave him a ring, from her finger, as a tribute of her affection. Murray, at the same moment, went, from Edinburgh to Fife; that he might not be present at the deed-doing. These are much stronger facts, than Murray's assertion, or oath. It is an incontrovertible truth, that the King, and Queen, had become reconciled to each other, some weeks, before that sad event. Murray's asseveration, that the Queen, who would not be divorced from her husband, two months before, now commanded her husband to be assassinated, is disproved, by that fact, of her refusing to be divorced: Murray's assertion, that the Queen, who was reconciled to her husband, would command him to be assassinated, must, necessarily, be false. Murray, moreover, affirmed, that the Queen stopped the prosecution against Bothwell: But, the record affirms, that the prosecution was *not* stopped; and that Murray's partizans formed the court, which acquitted Bothwell; Murray's agents, Morton, and Maitland, acting before it, as his protectors: Elizabeth attempted to stop the trial of Bothwell, in order to gain time; but, Maitland pushed aside Elizabeth's attempt: This charge, then, of the Queen stopping the prosecution against Bothwell, was a deliberate falsehood, in Murray. He, however, went on, to aggravate his charges, by saying, that she had married Bothwell, soon after the murder [three months after it.] But, he forgot, that he himself had promised the Queen, in marriage, to Bothwell, as the reward of the murder, that his agents, Morton, and Maitland, had solicited, and obtained, a declaration of several peers, and prelates, in favour of this marriage, which encouraged Bothwell to seize the Queen's person, and to constrain her mind, to agree to marry him: And, though Murray's Parliament grounded their act of forfeiture against Bothwell upon those

treasonous facts, committed, by him against the Queen; yet, did Murray, who sat in that Parliament, and had their act, in his pocket, during the accusation, charge this enforced marriage, as a proof of the Queen's previous knowledge of her husband's murder: This act of Parliament alone evinces, what a deliberate liar was Murray[u]. In continuation of this degenerate spirit of falsehood, Murray charged the Queen, and Bothwell, with introducing a tyranny, which is untrue; and with a design to destroy her son, which is still more false. And in his conclusion, he asserts what he knew to be a deliberate lie, "that the estates of the realm, finding her unworthy to reign, "decerned her demission of the crown, with the coronation of "her son, and his own regency." Now; all this was done in July 1567, by his agent Morton, upon a previous concert, with half a dozen nobles, who were as guilty as himself: These nobles compelled the imprisoned Queen, to resign her sceptre to her baby son, and to appoint Murray, to be the regent, during the Prince's infancy. The fact, we thus see, was, that Murray acted as Regent, during several months, upon no other authority, than the violent appointment of those few nobles, who acted, merely, as his own partizans; who had no power to crown the Prince; and who had no title to assume the government, but their own illegal act. The Parliament, which was convened, in December following, by such a King, and such a Regent, legalized those violent proceedings. Such, was Murray's charge against his sister, and sovereign, which Robertson declared, to be unbrotherly, and ungrateful; and he might have added, to be feigned, and false.

In addition to such a collection of gross misrepresentations,

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[u] This act of Parliament, when produced by him, in evidence, had been vitiated, by leaving out a clause; whence we may infer, what villains Murray, and his associates were: This act was certified, by the clerk Register, one of Murray's agents, to be genuine: Yet, collation with the record proves it to have been castrated.

deliberate falsehoods, and inconsequential reasonings, Murray gave into Elizabeth's commissioners, not only the boxful of papers, beforementioned, but other supposititious papers of a similar sort. What Morton said before, as to the interception of the box, and letters, he now swore[v]. The Queen denied, that she had ever written such letters, and other papers; strongly insinuating, at the same time, that Secretary Maitland had forged them. If the question were, whether Morton, or the Queen, were to be believed; the answer must be, that the Queen's veracity could not be doubted; while Morton was a known falsifier: And Morton seemed afraid to make any examinations, concerning the matter, or the manner, of the interception. This evinces, that his assertion could not bear examination. The earliest date assigned to any of those letters was the 24th January 1566-7, from Glasgow, and three subsequent letters, were written while the Queen remained at Glasgow. Yet, is it a fact, which cannot be doubted, that the Queen was, at that period, completely reconciled to her husband; and went to Glasow *after that date,* with design, to carry him to Edinburgh. But, there never was any evidence given, to repel the improbability, that the Queen, thus reconciled to her husband, would write such letters against him. Much less was there any proof to evince, contrary to the public records, which prove, that she remained, at Edinburgh, on the 24th of January 1566-7, that the Queen was, at Glasgow, on the same day. If, in such a mass of documents, one paper be proved, to be a forgery, this will corrupt the whole mass. The letter, from Stirling noticing the Queen's seizure, by

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[v] Yet, the paper, which he then swore to, seems to have been afterwards destroyed. Goodall, ii. 231. Morton knew, that at the epoch of Darnley's murder, Bothwell did not possess any supposititious documents; and of course, none such being in existence could not be found, by him, though they might have been forged, by others.

Bothwell, is flatly contradicted, by the very act, which forfeits him, for that seizure. The copy of this act of Parliament, which Murray then produced, when compared with the genuine record, appears to have been shorn of a clause. Every document, which was touched, by the hands of such falsifiers, was defiled by them. Such were the proofs, which were to substantiate such a charge[w]. The lord keeper, however, and the secretary of state, contrary to their oaths, admitted in evidence, such forged, and falsified, documents, in the absence of the Scotish Queen, and her commissioners. Such documents, thus admitted, in evidence, contrary to every principle of law, and justice, answered, sufficiently, Elizabeth's design of calumniating, and disgracing a hated rival. She even refused to give copies of such documents to the Scotish Queen, though Elizabeth acknowledged *this request* to be *very reasonable.* But, she had obtained her calumnious object, at whatever cost of money, and expense of reputation.

In the practice of law, and the intercourse of life, when any person, of whatever rank, is detected, in any gross fraudulence, he is, for ever after, regarded as a notorious character, without faith, and unworthy of credit. The whole proceedings of Murray, and his associates, with regard to the Scotish Queen, both in Scotland, and in England, were supported on no better grounds, than falsehood, and perjury, invalid instruments, and vitiated documents. Elizabeth's commissioners, both, at York, and at Westminster, in their several practices, partook of their fraudulence, and were involved in their perjury. By the ablest of Elizabeth's statesmen, it was avowed, that the detention of the Scotish Queen could not be justified, if she were

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[w] Whoever wishes to examine, minutely, the truth, or falsehood of those proofs, must apply to Goodall's *Examination,* to Tytler's *Enquiry,* and to Whitaker's *Vindication.*

not disgraced, by calumny. It was for that odious purpose, that such enquiries were carried on, in England, at so disgraceful an expense. When Elizabeth, and Cecil, by gross corruption, induced Murray, and his associates, to swear to the genuineness of documents, which they all, the tempters, and the tempted, knew to be forgeries, Elizabeth, and her minister, only incurred the abominable guilt of odious subornation. She dismissed Murray, and his associates, with their boxful of forgeries to Scotland, to rule a dependant kingdom, which was disgraceful to the country, says Robertson, and he might have added, as well as injurious to the people. She resolved, to confine more strictly the Scotish Queen, who had resolved to die a Queen, however much she had been disgraced, by calumny, supported, only, by a consciousness of innocence, while Elizabeth was devoured, by a consciousness of guilt, which followed her to the grave. If it be asked, upon what principle, Elizabeth resolved to confine the Queen of Scots more straitly, the answer must be: She, and her minister, Cecil, considered her as a criminal, duly convicted of the murder of her husband? Who convicted her? Queen Elizabeth, who acted without jurisdiction, by commissioners, who proceeded, partially, upon the production of documents, which were forged, by the murderers themselves, who were admitted to charge the Queen with the crime. But, can there be more disgraceful characters, than an unjust judge, perjured commissioners, and prosecutors, who were themselves the murderers, who produced forgeries, as their vouchers?

It is apparent, however, while Elizabeth's ministers intercepted the Queen of Scots' documents, and while time, and chance, had not yet made many a disclosure, that Mary could not have convicted Murray, and his associates, of the shocking guilt of murdering the King; and of charging their own crime, on the innocent Queen. That Darnley was assassi-

nated, by a conspiracy of nobles, with Murray, as the chief of it, is quite certain[x]. But, this certainly, she, and her commissioners, able as they were, could not have demonstrated: Yet, was the charge against the Scotish Queen quite groundless; as, indeed, we may infer, from the attainders of those guilty nobles; and from the fact of Bothwell being one of the conspirators, at Whittingham, as the mere *cat's-paw* of Morton, and Murray, but not the *paramour* of Mary. When Murray stated, that the Queen prevented the trial of Bothwell, who was actually tried; what was this, but deliberate falsehood? The record of Bothwell's trial remains to this day; and is, also, the register of Murray's audacity of falsehood. When Murray charged Mary's marriage with Bothwell, as a proof of her privity to the murder of Darnley, he failed, egregiously, in not showing that, *it was a voluntary marriage:* For the

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[x] It is proved, by the State Papers, that Morton, after his pardon, for the murder of Rizzio, had scarcely returned to Whittingham, in Mid-Lothian, when Secretary Maitland carried Bothwell to meet him. The object of this meeting, as Morton confessed, and his relation, Archibald Douglas avowed, was *to concert the death of Darnley.* This, then, *is the very definition of a conspiracy.* The three conspirators, Bothwell, in 1567, Maitland, in 1573, and Morton, in 1581, were attainted, by Parliament, for the King's treasonous death. Now; coupling those parliamentary attainders, with the facts of the conspiracy, at Whittingham, and there cannot remain a doubt of their guilt. But, they did not commit so great a crime, from their own interest, or their own criminal passions: No. They all acted, for Murray's benefit, *with his knowledge,* and *his concurrence in their conspiracy,* though he kept himself aloof, and only came out, at the close of the conspiracy, when the Queen was dethroned, for *their crimes.* But, was Murray innocent; because he kept himself aloof, while he performed the treasonous deed, by his guilty agents? No: He was the most guilty; as he could have prevented the crime; from which, in the result, he derived the government of the kingdom. Murray, and Morton, charged Bothwell with Darnley's death, before Elizabeth: But, was he more guilty than Morton, and Murray, while he acted, only, as their *cat's-paw?* No. Yet, their whole charge against the Queen, consisted, merely, of such gross misrepresentations, falsehoods, fictions, and sophistries!

register of the Privy Council,[y] and the record of Parliament[z] evince, that Bothwell, being encouraged, by Murray's agents, traitorously arrested the Queen on the highway; carried her, forcibly, to the castle of Dunbar, and therein coerced the imprisoned Queen to agree to marry him. Being thus coerced, by a power, which she could not resist, what guilt could she, or any other woman, commit, under such circumstances of violence? And, thus treated, under the predominance of Murray's agents, and faction, what privity could she have of her husband's murder? which, as we have clearly seen, was committed, by a conspiracy of nobles, with Murray, as their *chief*, and Bothwell, for their *cat's-paw*. From these examinations, the character of Murray's charge may be easily seen, to be nothing else, than fiction, and falsehood, misrepresentation and sophistry.

Of the same nature are the documents, which Murray gave in to Elizabeth's commissioners, as proofs of his charge: They are mostly all forgeries, and fictions, vitiated writings, and spurious diaries. The whole may be seen in Goodall's Examination, ii, except the declaration of Morton, on oath, with regard to the manner of his intercepting the boxful of love epistles, love sonnets, and marriage contracts, therein found, which were addressed, by the Queen, to Bothwell[a]. But, Morton, knew, from the informations of Bothwell, and Maitland, that such papers did not exist, at the epoch of the conspiracy, at Whittingham[b]. When did this written intercourse begin,

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[y] See it in Anderson's Collections.

[z] The act of Bothwell's attainder, in the Acta Parl. iii.

[a] Goodall, ii. 230.

[b] The epoch of that conspiracy was the 20th of January 1566-7, only twenty days, *before* the murder of Darnley. When Morton asked for the hand writing of the Queen, to satisfy him, that she was privy to the intended murder: But,

between the Queen of Scots, and the Earl of Bothwell? The answer must be, a few days *after* the epoch of that conspiracy: During the same moment, that the Queen became reconciled to her husband: During the same moment, wherein Bothwell was busy, as a *conspirator*, in procuring men, and means, to murder the King. Under these two circumstances, it would require the strongest evidence, to prove, that such written intercourse began, at such an epoch; as it is most improbable. For the interception of such writings, we have only the assertion, on oath, of Morton, who was a known falsifier: On the contrary, the Queen averred, "that she never wrote such "documents to any creature." Here, then, Murray failed in his proof: The improbability, and the Queen's declaration, being much stronger evidence, than the *affidavit* of such a wretch, as Morton.

1. One of the *supposititious letters*, which Murray brought, in support of his charge; in order to show the *inordinate love* of a married Queen, who was on civil terms with her husband; for a married noble, who never courted her[c]. The first letter, in the series, a very long one, from Glasgow, was written, on the 24th of January 1566-7: But, the records evince,

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Bothwell could not show him, even with Maitland's aid, any writing of the Queen; because they had none.

[c] See those letters, in English, Latin, and French, as published, by Goodall, in his *Examination*, ii. 1—44. Goodall proves, that those epistles were, originally, written in the vulgar tongue. They were in the vulgar tongue, at York; as we know, from Sadler, who abstracted them, in the *very words*. But, Murray gave the same letters, in evidence, for supporting his charge, in a *French translation*. But, a French translation of an English original was not legitimate evidence, though Murray, and his partizans swore, that they were originals. Here, again he failed. Goodall has critically examined those supposititious letters; and has found proofs of their forgery, both internally, and externally. Tytler has reinforced, in his *Enquiry*, the proofs of Goodall. Whitaker, in his *Vindication* of Mary, has criticised every line, and every letter; and has found, in each, the clearest proofs of forgery.

the Queen still remained, in Edinburgh, at that date: She could not, then, write such a letter, from Glasgow. The forger makes the King, and Queen talk, nonsensically, in that letter, about the disease of *his mind*, while they both knew, that his complaint was the *small-pox, a disease of the body*. But, why should the Queen write so long a letter, from Glasgow, whither she had gone for her love of Darnley, to Bothwell, who was then busy, in contriving means, for the King's murder, and not in courting her[d]? The Parliamentary act, forfeiting Bothwell, shows, that there was no love, between the Queen, and him; as he carried her forcibly to Dunbar castle; and therein *coerced* her to agree to marry him: But, where there is *coercion* there can be no *love*. The Parliament, when the estates forfeited Bothwell, grounded their act upon the facts of his arresting the Queen on the highway, of his forcibly carrying her to Dunbar-castle, and of his forcibly constraining the Queen to marry him: But, *constraint*, and *affection* stood opposed to each other; and if she did not love Bothwell, and hate Darnley; why should she write such long, and absurd letters to Bothwell? The true answer must be, that she never wrote such letters, or any thing, either to Bothwell, or to any one else; as she asserted, when she affirmed such letters to be forgeries; and pointed at Secretary Maitland, as the forger.

2. The love sonnets, which may, also, be seen in Goodall, are equally, objectionable, as *the letters*. The Queen, as she had no unfit intercourse with Bothwell, had no motive to write such pitiful verses to such a character, while she was so much better employed, in taking care of her sickly husband. She denied them to be of her writing; and her denial is quite sufficient to repel unfounded affirmations[e].

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[d] Acta Parl. iii. 5—10.

[e] Whitaker, in his Vindication, iii. has shown, with clear conviction, their

3. There were two supposititious contracts of marriage given in evidence by Murray. But, since the Queen's marriage was founded in *coercion*, and not in *will*, the force, under which she acted, in the judgment of Parliament, evinces such contracts to be forgeries[f].

4. There were a dozen other documents, given in evidence, by Murray, against the Queen![g] which only evinces the truth of the intimation, how frequent were forgeries, during those times, and what a long train of forgeries,[h] Murray was engaged in; for supporting his charge, against the Queen, so false, and feigned, as it was. Murray knew perfectly well, that Bothwell, from the epoch of the conspiracy against Darnley, and the Queen, was more attached to himself, as a *conspirator*, than to Mary, as a *paramour*, that he caused a *journal* to be constructed, for exhibiting Bothwell, in constant attendance upon the Queen. With other forgeries, Murray gave it in evidence, as a powerful support of his charge,[i] but a still stronger proof of his baseness. So false, and fallacious, were Murray's proofs.

The result of all that notorious enquiry was, to approve of Murray's proceedings, and to allow him to depart to Scotland, with £5000. reward; to imprison the Queen, for life; while

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vulgarity, their falsehood, their contradictions, their absurdities; all evincing the grossness of their forgery.

[f] Goodall, i. 125—7, shows that such contracts bear palpable marks of forgery. Whitaker, in his Vindication, i. proves such contracts, neither to be written, nor subscribed, by the Queen. There was a real contract of marriage, with Bothwell, which proves the fictitious contracts to be forgeries. At the epoch of the Whittingham conspiracy, such absurd contracts did not exist, in the possession of Bothwell.

[g] See the List, in Goodall, ii.

[h] See Whitaker's Vindication, iii. 2—43.

[i] This *Journal*, with all its falsehoods, may be seen in Anderson's Collections; in Goodall's Examin. 247, and in Whitaker's Vindication, i. wherein he shows its origin, and its use; its absurdities, and its falsehoods.

she was disgraced, by calumny; as had been proposed by Knollys, approved by Mildmay, and now acted upon, by Cecil. "*Fons turbatus pede, et vena corrupta, est justus cadens* "*coram impio:* Here, is noted," saith Bacon, Lord Verulam, "that one judicial, and exemplar of inquity, in the face of "the world, doth trouble the fountains of justice more, than "many particular injuries, passed over, by connivance."

SECTION XII.

From the End of Elizabeth's Enquiry, till Mary's removal to Sheffield.

AT the close of that enquiry we have seen, who were the persons guilty of the murder of Darnley. Elizabeth would not receive her relation, the Queen of Scots, to her presence; because it was *reported*, that she was privy to the murder of her husband. Elizabeth, however, received Murray, and his associates, though they were known, to be murderers; because they were useful to her, in the great project of disgracing the Scotish Queen, by calumny. Murray was rewarded, for his criminations, and his forgeries; and was sent to Scotland, that he might govern it, in subservience to Elizabeth's will. It was, at the same time, determined, to remove the Scotish Queen, from Bolton castle, to Tutbury, without avowing the principle of law, or of morals, on which she was to be detained a prisoner, for life, after being copiously calumniated.

It was as much, perhaps, the apprehension of the escape of the Queen of Scots, as the frequent, and strong remonstrances of Knollys, her warden, that induced Elizabeth, to bring her hated rival more into the interior of the kingdom: He often represented, "that unless it was determined to keep the Scot-"ish Queen a prisoner, and debar her, from riding, *which* "*would be death to her*, they could no longer remain, at "Bolton, for want of forage, and provisions[k]."

[k] Knollys's letter to Cecil, in the Paper Office, 2d November 1568. He often

Without money, and the proper means of transport, they departed, from Bolton castle, something against the Queen's will, on the 26th of January 1568-9; and arrived at Lord Shrewsbury's castle of Tutbury, upon the Dove, in Staffordshire, on the 3d of February 1568-9[l]. During that inclement season, the Queen, and her family, could not have been removed, if the Bishop of Durham had not lent Knollys sixteen horses. Lady Livingston was taken ill, on the road, at Rotherham, and was left there; and on their journey to Chesterfield, the Queen fell ill, with her usual pain, in her side, and she complained of her head: so that the cavalcade was obliged to remain, at Mr. Foljam's house, near Chesterfield, where they had good accommodations[m].

In that removal, the Queen's journey lay through Wetherby, Pomfret, Sheffield, to Tutbury. When they arrived, at Wetherby, Knollys received a letter from Elizabeth; charging Mary with writing a scandalous letter into Scotland; reflecting on her good sister. Mary utterly denied having written such a letter: But, acknowledged, that she had ordered certain things, against the practices of Murray. Such a violent epistle

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repeated those circumstances, during this, and the subsequent month: Yet, the Scotish Queen, even after she was joined, by Lady Livingston, employed only a dozen horse. Knollys proposed to pay a dozen light horsemen, *armed with pistols*, to ride out with the Queen, and her ladies: So the light horsemen were to fire upon the Queen, and her ladies, if they should take a gallop: Yet, where could the Scotish Queen flee to? In every part of England, and of Scotland, she would have been arrested. If any of those light horsemen had killed any of the ladies, what would have been his punishment, and where was the responsibility?

[l] Cecil's Diary; Knollys's letter to Cecil, in the Paper Office, 10th Dec. 1568. The hangings, bedding, at Bolton castle, had been lent, by Sir George Bowes, says Knollys, without which they had experienced much inconvenience. Elizabeth, having no heart, never troubled herself, about such considerations: When she ordered her good cousin into some uninhabited castle, she gave herself very little more trouble, about the accommodation.

[m] Knollys's letters, 1st Feb. 1568-9 to the Privy Council, in the Paper Office.

of crimination, from Queen Elizabeth was, probably, intended, according to her usual policy, to facilitate the removal of Mary.

The resolutions of Elizabeth against Mary, entailed upon herself many a year of misery; so much was her heart torn, by the uneasy passions of envy, hatred, and jealousy; that Elizabeth was induced even to employ Lady Shrewsbury, to watch over the conduct of her own husband, in his usual intercourse with the Scotish Queen. At the end of March 1568-9, the Queen of Scots was, here, visited, by her two commissioners, the Bishop of Ross, and Lord Boyd; after being detained, from the suggestion of Murray, though under such pretexts, as Cecil could easily find.

It was partly owing to those passions of Elizabeth, but still more to another principle, which she avowed, in one of her letters, *that the Queen of Scots' head should never rest*, that Mary was removed, in April, to Winkfield, in Derbyshire[n]. Winkfield, says Camden, was a very great, and goodly manour, where Ralph, Lord Cromwell, in the reign of Henry VI. built a stately house, for those days[o]. Shrewsbury, whose liberal spirit disposed him to treat a woman, and a Queen, with gentleness, was so harassed, by the guilty passions, and the watchfulness of his wife, that he was thrown into several fits of violent disease[p]. The intrigues of the Countess of Shrewsbury

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[n] The Scotish Queen was at Winkfield, on the 22d of April, said Cecil, in his Diary. There was a rumour, continued he, that the Queen of Scots had transferred her right to the English crown to the Duke of Anjou. Cabala, 152. The Queen contradicted this absurdity. Ib. 152-3.

[o] Britannia, in Derbyshire.

[p] Cecil wrote to Norris, on the 3d of July: "Lord Shrewsbury having been "first striken with a palsy is now striken, lamentably, with a phrensie. It is likely "the Queen of Scots shall remove to Belvoir, in the charge of my Lord Bedford." Cabala, 153. This project, however, did not take place. On the 22d of June, Sir Francis Zouch was appointed to attend the Queen, in the room, or rather aid, of Shrewsbury.

were officious, and incessant, with Elizabeth's court: And, the Scotish Queen, on the 20th of October 1569, wrote to Secretary Walsingham, from Winkfield; "earnestly request-" ing him, to attach no credit to the schemes, and accusations " of *La Comptesse que est maintenant avec vous;*" as she is a mortal enemy to her, and her son; and has even attempted her life; the Queen added, she could defend herself against the calumnious reports of the said comptesse, before all the kings, and princes, in christendom.

Meantime, the Duke of Norfolk, owing to whatever intrigue, or whatever folly, fell in love with the Queen of Scots, whom he had never seen; and of whom he had suspected some foul proceedings, though not, by very fair enquiry: These were, no doubt, strong reasons, for any man's falling in love with any woman. The Duke, unhappily, for his own fortunes, had been deluded by Secretary Maitland, and had placed his trust, in the Earl of Murray, one of the most faithless of mankind. Such an intrigue could not escape the jealousy of Elizabeth: She had even said to the Duke, when he dined, with her, at Farnham, that *he would do well to be careful, on what pillow he laid his head.* He wanted bravery of spirit to tell her the whole story, since she had obtained, from her women, one half of the tale[q]. Norfolk was examined; as none of the courtiers, who had been entrusted with it, would open the matter to Elizabeth; and Murray, upon the application of Cecil, very readily disclosed what had been communicated to him, in trust. At length Norfolk was committed to the Tower. The Bishop of Ross was soon after examined at Windsor[r]. By the late Lord

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[q] Camden's Eliz. 127—30.

[r] Cecil's Diary. While those examinations were going on, Elizabeth ordered Shrewsbury to search the Queen of Scots' coffers, for letters: But, he found none. There are some letters from her, about that time, to the Duke of Norfolk, which are published, in the Hardwick State Papers, i. 190-1, which are sufficiently warm: She supposed, that Norfolk had more power to help her, than he really had.

Hardwick, it was supposed that Norfolk, and Mary, were actually married: But, the Scotish Queen was already a married woman: They were only betrothed. The consent of Bothwell, however, for a divorce, had been obtained; and Lord Boyd was sent with it to Scotland; in order to solicit the Parliament, for the dissolution of the Queen's enforced marriage, with that odious ruffian: Yet, those, who had professed so much zeal against Bothwell's marriage with the widowed Queen, refused their assent to its dissolution[s].

Meantime, Leonard Dacres, one of the wildest of men, in co-operation with the Earl of Northumberland, entertained a project of delivering the Scotish Queen, from her unjust imprisonment: But, it was forbidden, by Norfolk, who feared for himself[t].

In consequence of the rumour of such a purpose, the Queen of Scots was removed, from Winkfield, to Tutbury, where she was straitly guarded[u].

In November 1569, broke out the rebellion of the Earls of Northumberland, and Westmorland. They are said, by Camden, to have aimed at the freedom of the Queen of Scots. But, their first declaration was grounded, on the Catholic religion; the second, on the want of a law, for settling the succession. The Scotish Queen is not mentioned; nor even alluded to, unless the mention of the succession bear such an allusion[v]. On the 21st of November, the rebels even came, as far

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[s] Cabala, 155. The document, signifying Bothwell's consent to a divorce, remained among Lord Boyd's papers, even down to our own times.

[t] Camden's Eliz. 129.

[u] Cecil states, in his Diary, on the 29th of September, that the Scotish Queen had returned to Tutbury. He wrote, on the 3d of October 1569, to Norris, at Paris: "The Queen of Scots is more narrowly watched than before: The Earl of "Huntington was joined with the Earl of Shrewsbury, in charge of her safety. Cabala, 157.

[v] See the two Declarations, in Strype's Annals.

as Tadcaster, towards Tutbury:[w] And Huntingdon, and Hertford, came there to assist Shrewsbury, in the difficult charge of the Scotish Queen: But, on the 25th they brought her to Ashby-de-la-Zouch, and on the morrow, to Coventry[x]. There remains a letter, from Lord Huntingdon to Secretary Cecil, from Coventry, on the 28th of November 1569; requesting to know the Queen's immediate pleasure, where the Scotish Queen is to remain, as she is, at present, at an inn, where is no accommodation: They had endeavoured to get another house, but could not, for want of furniture; and the Earl of Shrewsbury, his companion, in this trust, will not send for any, till he knows the Queen's pleasure. That inconsiderate insurrection was crushed before christmas; when the chiefs fled into Scotland, where they were not safe[y]. On the 2d of January 1569-70, the Queen of Scots was carried back, from Coventry to Tutbury, when the country was free, from insurrection, though not free from tyranny[z]. The rebellion, in

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[w] Cecil asserts so, in his Diary.

[x] Cecil's Diary; Cabala, 158; Sadler's State Letters, ii. 40.

[y] Ib. 159-60. Northumberland was afterwards surrendered, by Morton; and being brought to York, was there executed.

[z] There is, in Haynes, 511, a letter, from the well known Nicolas White to Secretary Cecil, on the 26th of February 1569; giving a very amusing account of the Scotish Queen: "If I might give advice, there should very few subjects of "this land have access to, or conference with, this lady: For, beside, that she is "a goodly personage, (and yet in truth, *not comparable to our sovereign*) she "hath withal, an alluring grace, a pretty Scotch speech, and a searching wit, "clouded with mildness. The greatest person about her is the Lord Livingston, "and the Lady, his wife, which is a fair gentlewoman. She hath nine women "more; fifty persons in household, with ten horses. The Bishop of Ross then "lay, three miles off, in Burton upon Trent, with Lord Boyd. Lord Shrewsbury is "very watchful of his charge: But, the Queen overwatches them all; for it is "one of the clock, at least, every night, ere she go to bed. I asked her grace, since "the weather did cut off all exercises abroad, how she passed the time within?

England, was, scarcely, suppressed, when the Regent Murray laboured, earnestly, that the Queen of Scots might be delivered into his hands; offering hostages; and engaging to deliver the Earls of Northumberland, and Westmorland, who were now in his power. Meantime, he so intrigued, that the Bishop of Ross, *as author of the rebellion*, was committed, in ward, to the Bishop of London. Such accusations are easily made, but not so easily proved.

But, the time was come, when the restless ambition of Murray was to have a disastrous end. On the 22d of January 1569-70, was the Regent Murray shot, in the streets of Linlinthgow, by Hamilton of Bothwell-haugh, for persecuting his wife to distraction, an injury, which, according to the husband's irritated feelings, nothing could satisfy, but a stroke of death: So far did resentment carry men, during such a state of anarchy. The Queen is said to have shed tears, when she heard of the sad catastrophe of Murray: But, they ought to have been tears of joy, rather than of sorrow; as he was, undoubtedly, the principal murderer of her husband, and his ambition had effected her ruin, and had involved her kingdom, in the usual miseries of civil war.

There remains a letter from Mary to Elizabeth,[a] at a somewhat later period; complaining of all her grievanees, and sufferings, which is written with more freedom, and vigour, than Elizabeth was used to, or could relish, from her good cousin,

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" She said, that all the day, she wrought with her needle, and that the diversity of " the colours made the work seem less tedious; and she continued so long till even " pain made her give over; and with that laid her hand upon her left side, and " complained of an old grief, newly, increased there. Upon this, she entered " upon a pretty disputable comparison between carving, painting, and working " with the needle; affirming *painting*, in her own opinion, for the most com- " mendable quality."

[a] The above letter, dated 14th March 1569-70, is in Strype's Annals, i. App. 161.

whom she idly supposed, to be so inferior to herself, at least, in her own conceipt. About that time arrived, at the court of England, Montlovet, an ambassador from France, to solicit the liberty, and restoration of the Scotish Queen: and this envoy, and the French ambassador, had an audience of Elizabeth, who, in the presence of her council, expressly refused their requests, either to release Mary, to see her, or to allow either of them to go into Scotland[b]. The Scotish Queen seemed thus to be considered, as something worse than a state prisoner, to be a criminal, for some offence against the English law. We have already seen, how absurdly, Cecil wrote, when he attempted to justify, by argument, the Queen of Scot's imprisonment: He now supposed, that an inconvenience to England, *without an injury*, was a legitimate cause of war, or of forcible detention of a neighbouring sovereign. Such was the cant of all those, who had been bred, in Cecil's school: How contrary to the law of nations, such a notion, and practice, are, needs not be repeated.

Shrewsbury, meanwhile, did not sit easy under the vexations, and charges of keeping the Queen of Scots; and he claimed, from Cecil, some indemnity, particularly, as the Queen's baths of wine, for the pain in her side, were very expensive to him:[c] But, it appears not, that he received either compensation, or thanks; so sordid, and at the same time, so oppressive, was the domination of Elizabeth!

The death of Murray made a great impression upon Elizabeth; having lost so subservient an agent. She prepared to avenge it, and to supply his place[d]. She sent the notorious

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[b] Cabala, 161.

[c] Strype's Ann. i. 538-9.

[d] See her declaration of war against the notorious outlaws, thieves, enemies, and peacebreakers of Scotland, dated the 10th of April 1570, from Hampton-court. Strype's Ann. i. 573-5. So the Duke, Argyle, Huntley, and other nobles, were the outlaws, thieves, and peacebreakers, of Scotland. What a woman was Elizabeth!

Randolph to intrigue, at Edinburgh. She committed the Bishop of Ross a prisoner to the Bishop of London. Sussex, as lieutenant-general of the north, was dispatched, to assume the command of an army, which was to chastise, and overawe Scotland. He entered Teviotdale, on the 14th of April, and laid waste the country. He did infinite mischief, in a very short time; his army returning, on the 22d of the same month[e]. Lord Scroope made a similar inroad on the western border, with equal success, and equal damage[f]. Elizabeth not only made formal war on Scotland, in order to frighten the people into obedience to her dictates, but, she prevented any justification of the Scotish Queen, before the public, from the charges, and calumnies, which had been so abundantly cast upon her, by the undoubted murderers of her husband, under the eye of Elizabeth[g].

Yet, the conscience of the English Queen, was not altogether settled, whatever Cecil might think, what was fittest to be done, with regard to the Queen of Scots. A consultation was held, on the 7th of May; to come to some end, regarding the Scotish Queen[h]. How such a consultation would end, may easily be conceived. Cecil, soon after, wrote to the ambassador Norris: "By your letters of late time, it hath seemed, "that your opinion was, for the Queen's majesty, to be deli- "vered of the Scotish Queen; but, surely, few here among "us conceive it feasible, with surety[i]." This supplies an addi-

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She meant to revenge the death of Murray, by laying waste the lands, and houses, of the greatest men, in Scotland; and she declared war against *outlaws*, thieves, and peacebreakers: But, against those she had no right to make war, within Scotland.

[e] Cabala, 163 [f] Ib. 164-5,

[g] In Cecil's letter to Norris of the 4th May 1570, he says, the Bishop of Ross's Defence of the Queen of Scots was discovered, and stopped at the press, before eight leaves had been printed. Cabala, 162. Cecil, also, intimates, that Secretary Maitland had joined the Queen's party, in Scotland.

[h] Strype. [i] Letter of the 23d May 1570, Cabala, 165.

tional instance, of Cecil's practice, of deluding the English ambassadors, at Paris, by his delusive style of writing, for imposing on the French court. In various dispatches to Norris, Cecil expressed himself, as if Elizabeth, and her ministers, wished, to free themselves of the Scotish Queen; but, that the states of Scotland would not restore her: yet, Norris not perceiving this artifice, which had been thrown out, to delude the French ministers, was himself deluded, and expressed an opinion, which was not relished, by Cecil, though it led to the true policy.

But, the whole policy of Cecil consisted in deception. He soon after sent the Bishop of Ross to propose to his mistress the appointment of new commissioners; to treat of her causes, and to put an end to hostilities, on both sides[k]. A warlike expedition was, at the same time, meditated against the Hamilton's estates, in the western shires of Scotland. Drury, the marshal of Berwick, marched thence, with 1000 foot, and 400 horse; and laid waste the houses, and lands of the Hamiltons; as that family had discovered, when too late, their true interest to have consisted, in supporting the Queen, and the law[l].

In Scotland, the church assembly, as was to be expected, declared, for the King; whose party, after the death of Murray, could hardly support itself against the Queen's friends. The warfare, and devastation of Elizabeth, were intended to give a decided superiority to the King's interests, and her own. She had early sent down the Earl of Lennox, who had few friends; but was chosen Regent, on the 17th of July, with Morton, for his lieutenant. Such were the legacies, which Murray's ambition left to the Scotish people, for their infatuation.

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[k] Cabala, 165.

[l] Cabala, 166. Cecil, with joy, conveyed this news to Norris, for the information of the French court. Id. The Earl of Southampton was, about the same time, imprisoned, "for speaking with the Bishop of Ross." Id. Such were the golden days of Elizabeth!

Meanwhile, the Scotish Queen was, more and more, deprived of her personal liberty. At the end of July 1570, the Bishop of Ross complained to Elizabeth, "that his mistress "was not permitted to take the air abroad:" And she wrote to Shrewsbury, on the 4th of August, "that in the earl's com- "pany, the Queen of Scots might ride, and take the air, for her health[m]. She seems, soon after, to have been removed to Chatsworth; a fair, and stately house, saith Camden, which Sir William Cavendish, descended out of that ancient house of Gernon, in Suffolk, began; and which his wife, Elizabeth, and after Countess of Shrewsbury, hath, of late, with great charges, fully finished: It has since been rebuilt much more splendidly, in modern architecture.

But, nothing could allay the jealousy of Elizabeth, as to the Scotish Queen, and her escape. She had been credibly informed, said she to Shrewsbury, of a purpose to attempt the deliverance of the Queen of Scots: Though she be restrained of her late liberty of hawking, and hunting; yet, this will serve little purpose, if the gentlemen of that country have daily access to her, which she desires may be prevented: And, in case, she added, you should think, that you cannot safely keep her, in Chatsworth, we then put it to your choice to carry her to Tutbury[n]. We thus see what misery the guilty passions of Elizabeth inflicted on a respectable noble; on a Queen, whom she imprisoned, and oppressed, against every law, human, and divine: The purposed escape of the Queen of Scots was idly supposed, in opposition to the plainest impossibility. Shrewsbury found no difficulty, in keeping her very safely, for some months longer, in Chatsworth, which has been long the splendid residence of patriot men, and elegant women. The diseased mind of Elizabeth seems to have supposed, that the

[m] Haynes, 601.

[n] From a draught of Elizabeth's above letter to Salisbury, in Haynes, 606-7.

safety of the world depended on the Queen, whom she hated; that the Scotish Queen was one of the *weird sisters*, who could raise a storm, without notice, at any hour of the day, or moment of the night.

Elizabeth's next intimation to the harassed Shrewsbury was of the appointment of Cecil, the Secretary, and Mildmay, the chancellor of the exchequer, as negotiators with the Scotish Queen[o]. Those able men arrived, at Chatsworth, on the 1st of October 1570, to treat with the captive Queen, who was now to rely on her own address for the success of a treaty, which, owing to Elizabeth's jealousy, must end, in disappointment[p]. What treaty could be made with such a Queen, as Mary, under her circumstances!

From Elizabeth's letter of credence to Shrewsbury, we may perceive what was the avowed object of such a mission of such men: When of long time, said she, the Queen of Scots, by sundry means, had made general offers to us, to satisfy, and accord with us, for the differences, arising between us, upon *her former attempts*[q]. The attempts of Mary on Elizabeth were not explained; the attempts of Elizabeth on Mary would form a pretty long list: So, to settle thoes *attempts*, here is a negotiation proposed, with an imprisoned Queen, by two of the ablest, and artfullest men, in England. As far as we can suppose, that any thing serious was intended, it is curious to observe, the Scotish Queen was not deficient, in acuteness, and ability, to treat with such men. Cecil begins with the treaty of Edinburgh, which was always uppermost, in his head; and which, among plain men, and plain women, did not admit of any discussion; as the Scotish Queen did not claim the

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[o] Haynes, 608. [p] See an account of it in Camden's Eliz. 149—51.

[q] The former attempts above alluded to were Mary's assumption, when Dauphiness, of the titles of England, which, when she became a widow, she disavowed, in the plainest manner: So that such *attempts* were, as if they had never been.

English crown, during Elizabeth's life, or the existence of her *leeful yssue*[r]. It is unnecessary to proceed any further, in noticing a treaty, which could not possibly have any result: Morton, who came from Scotland, to attend some negotiation, asserted, that he had no authority to adopt such a treaty[s]. Elizabeth concurred in this disavowal; and of course, suspended the operations of such a negotiation: so did she write to Shrewsbury; and enjoined him to take special care of his charge, that she did not escape[t]. Elizabeth's jealousy of the Queen of Scots' escape amounted to frenzy: Where could she escape to; or what could she hope, from her escape? If the Scotish Queen had been restored to her kingdom, under such a treaty, she could not have retained her station, during a month, without some plot, for her imprisoment, or expulsion.

In the meanwhile, the Scotish Queen was removed, on the 28th of November 1570, from Chatsworth to Sheffield; "a town," saith Camden, "of great renown, for *the smiths* therein; for-"tified with a strong and ancient castle, which in right line "descended, from the Lords Furnival, unto the Talbots, earls "of Shrewsbury[u]." It was, in this strong, and ancient castle, no doubt, that the Scotish Queen, with her disconsolate retinue, were lodged[v]. We may, incidentally, perceive, that Tutbury, Chatsworth, and Sheffield, were all castles of Shrewsbury; and only wonder, that such a noble should suffer himself to be so long harassed, under such a charge, by Elizabeth's guilty passions!

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[r] We know, from Camden, and the Statute Book, that Elizabeth had it enacted, that the crown should be worn, after her death, by her *natural issue*.

[s] Haynes, 623.

[t] Ib. 624. At the Bishop of Ross's request, his mistress was allowed, to take the air on horseback, a short way, well guarded. [Lodge's Illustrations, ii. 49-50.]

[u] Britannia. Yorkshire.

[v] Yes: But, that castle has since completely disappeared; and nothing remains now, but the old summer house, which then stood, in the garden.

At this period of the Scotish Queen's life, her real attendants seem to have been but few. Lord, and Lady Livingston, appear to have been the two principal persons about her. She seems to have had five bed-chamber women, and dressers. Mr. Castel was her physician; and Roulet, her secretary; but she seems not to have had any chaplain. The others were chiefly menials: But above all, there was with her William Douglas, the boy, who had so greatly contributed, to her liberation, from Lochleven castle, by his secrecy, and address[w].

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[w] There is in Lodge's Illustrations, ii. 52, a formal list of the Scotish Queen's attendants; as it was certified, by Lord Shrewsbury. On the 14th of May 1571, Shrewsbury informed Cecil, that he had, with great difficulty, reduced the Scotish Queen's attendants to 30; but, that she had intreated him, with tears in her eyes, to allow nine more to remain. The original is in the Paper Office.

SECTION XIII.

From the Queen's Arrival at Sheffield, till the Death of Norfolk.

THE Scotish Queen was, at length, in November 1570, settled, in Sheffield castle, under Shrewsbury's charge, where she remained, during a long sojourn. The times were full of dire suspicions, and privy conspiracies. A civil war had, for some time, raged, in Scotland, between the parties of the King, and Queen. A thousand projects were entertained, abroad, how to relieve the Scotish Queen, from an imprisonment, which was deemed unjust, in its principle, and barbarous, in its practice. Much of the disquiet of Elizabeth, and the difficulties of Cecil, were supposed to be owing to that hated princess: Yet, had they a very simple, and effectual remedy, at hand; by sending a passport to the Scotish Queen, enabling her to quit this island; and desiring her never to return: But, so obvious a measure would have taken from Elizabeth the pleasure of vexing a detested rival; and it would have deprived Cecil of his great delight, in difficulties, and hazards, wherein he displayed his ability, and address, in disappointing every intrigue, and in "unravelling all those dark designs, and this "mystery of state."

The simplicity, not to say the folly, of the Duke of Norfolk, in supposing, that he could marry the Scotish Queen, who was already married, without the knowledge of Elizabeth, and even in opposition to so vigilant an administration, involved himself, in ruin, and the Queen of Scots, in misery. The Bishop of

Ross, who was, perhaps, too busy, was restrained of his liberty[x]. The Queen, also, was involved, in the intrigues of Rudolphi, a Florentine merchant, and agent of Rome, even after Pius V. had attempted to deprive Elizabeth[y] of her crown.

The commissions of the King, and Queen of Scots, early, in 1571, gave full employment to the ministers of Elizabeth. They were on both sides sufficiently pertinacious; or, perhaps, it was impossible to reduce their several pretensions to any fair result. Elizabeth still retained her scruples, concerning the Scotish King's title, and government; while she acknowledged the unworthiness of the Queen to rule such a country, if all had been true, which Murray, the usurper, pretended. Morton, the murderer, indeed, assumed, from the dogmas of Calvin, that the nobles of any number might set aside their kings, at any time, on any pretence. With such argumentation, from so guilty a character, Elizabeth was not much gratified[z]. But, still, she found much danger, either in releasing, or retaining the Scotish Queen; whose friends, abroad, began to speak very proudly for her[a]. None of the statesmen of that age could perceive, that in desiring the Scotish Queen, to quit

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[x] This event was communicated to Mary, who was assured, that the bishop was not deprived of his liberty, for any acts done, in her service. The Queen of Scots was grieved at this news; but, said, "she looked for some quarrel to the bishop, "for her sake." [Letters in the Paper Office.]

[y] The Scotish Queen, being questioned about Rudolphi, denied having written to, or received any letters from a man, named Rudolphi; on being asked, whether she had written to the Pope, or any other foreign prince; she said, she had written to all foreign princes, her friends, for aid against her rebels; but not against her majesty, or her realm; yet, would she not specify to whom; saying, that no man had a right to question her, on that subject. [Shrewsbury to Burghley, 18th May 1571, in the Paper Office.]

[z] Morton's memorial, Elizabeth read; but, not without indignation; and as a libel, written in reproach of kings, condemned it, though she *dissembled* with the Scotish commissioners.

[a] Leicester's letter to Walsingham, 26th March, 1570-1. [Digges, 51.]

the kingdom for ever, there was no danger. So great a change has since taken place, in the manner of thinking, and of acting, among statesmen, that many of the apprehensions, and reasonings, of those times, savour so much of folly, as to incur some ridicule[b]. It was *an inconvenience* to England, that Scotland lay adjacent along her northern frontier: But, was that inconvenience a cause of war? It was an inconvenience to England, that Scotland had a Queen, contemporary with Elizabeth: was that inconvenience a cause of enmity? By Elizabeth's incitements, an all-powerful faction drove the Scotish Queen, to seek for shelter, in England; was that a cause of hostily against the Scotish Queen? Elizabeth imprisoned the Scotish Queen, without a cause, which incited the indignation of the European powers; did that justify the lord keeper Bacon, in saying, that the whole realm of Scotland was not sufficient security, for Elizabeth, and England? It was not good sense, in the lord keeper, Bacon, in the lord treasurer, Burghly, or in that wiser personage, Elizabeth, to reason, from *possibilities*: By *possibility*, England might have been merged, in the ocean, from earthquake: And, what security could be given them? Statesmen can only reason, from *probability*. In the meanwhile, the Scotish Queen, from imprisoment, from want of exercise, and from vexation, became very much indisposed; had fainted three or four times; and her people were much alarmed, about her: But, she became somewhat better; and was very anxious to know, how the Bishop of Ross was used, whose imprisonment touched her near; saying, she pitied poor prisoners, for she was used like one herself. On hearing such natural reflections, Shrewsbury advised her "to leave off any practices she

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[b] After hearing the commissions, as well, for the Scotish Queen as against her, on the question of her liberty, the Lord Keeper Bacon said, "that all the realm of "Scotland, the Prince, the noblemen, and castles, are not sufficient, to give se-"curity, unto the Queen, and England."

"had dealt in, and put her cause into the Queen's hands, "*as truth sought no covers.*" Poor Shrewsbury! What was this advice, but a repetition of Cecil's policy, when the Scotish Queen sent her servant, Beaton, to London, and Paris, to beg assistance against her persecutors? Why should you go to France, for help, said Cecil, when we can so easily give what you want here? without any purpose of giving any help to the Queen, while he aided her adversaries. The Scotish Queen, however, wrote to Burghley strong letters, in vindication of the bishop; desiring that he might be set at liberty, and received, as the ambassador of a free princess[c]. In the midst of this *insecurity*, Elizabeth, in the presence of such poets, as the world had, scarcely, ever seen before, wrote the following verses on the then state of persons, and affairs:[d]

That *doubt* of future foes exiles my present joy;
And *wit* me warns to shun such snares, as threaten mine annoy:
For falshood now doth flow, and subjects faith doth ebb,
Which would not be, if reason rul'd, or wisdom weav'd the webb:
But, clouds of toys untry'd do cloak aspiring minds,
Which turn to rain, of late repent, by course of changed winds.
The top of hope suppos'd the root of ruth will be,
And fruitless all their graffed guiles, as shortly ye shall see:
Those dazzel'd eyes with pride, which great ambition[e] blinds,
Shall be unsealed, by worthy wights, whose foresight falshood finds:
The daughter of debate, that eke discord doth sow,
Shall reap no gain, where former rule hath taught still peace to grow:
No *foreign banish'd wight* shall anchor in this port:[f]
Our realm it brooks no stranger's force;[g] let them elsewhere resort:
Our rusty sword with rest shall first the edge employ,
To poll their topps, that seek such change, and gape for joy.

Doctor Wilson, who hath preserved, in his *Logic*, those *sweet*,

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[c] Letters from Shrewsbury, 3d, 4th, 9th June 1571, in the Paper Office.
[d] Strype's Ann. ii. 89. [e] That of Norfolk.
[f] The Scotish Queen: If Elizabeth had sent her out of port, there could have been no objection. [g] France, and Spain.

sweet and *sententious* verses,[h] hath informed us, that the Queen wrote those *sugar'd samples;* knowing the secret practices among her people, and many of her nobility, inclining too far to the Scotish Queen's party, though she had long dissembled her knowledge: What is this, but saying, that the people of England were then, what they are at present: Detesters of unmerited oppression; and friends of the oppressed[i]! Could there be stronger arguments, for desiring the Scotish Queen, to quit the island!

Of Norfolk, thus brought again before our inquisitive eyes, it may be well, to notice, by a few short recollections. As early as the conclusion of the enquiry, at York, Secretary Maitland, and the Bishop of Ross, had endeavoured to gain Norfolk, to pity the manifold distresses of the Scotish Queen. They even offered her marriage to him, which he modestly declined; yet, promised not to abandon the Queen of Scots, in her misery, as far as an honourable man could act, in a business so full of danger. Ligon, the duke's servant, by going often to Bolton castle, though under pretence of visiting the duke's sister, Lady Scrope, induced Knollys to suspect him of some particular purpose. For more surety, the Scotish Queen was removed from Bolton, which was surrounded by papists, to Tutbury, where she would see fewer friends. So many of the nobles of England were acquainted with this intrigue, that the

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[h] Strype.

[i] Shrewsbury on the 17th of August 1571, wrote to Burghley the following communication of his suspicions of the Earl of Northumberland, and Mr. Wentworth, a papist, residing at Wentworth-house, three miles from Sheffield: "A few days "before the late northern rebellion, the earl, and his lady, were three days pri- "vately, at Wentworth-house; and it was concerted, that the countess should "come to Sheffield castle, in disguise of a nurse to Bastian's wife, then in childbed, "[two of the Scotish Queen's *servants*] and being something like the Queen of "Scots, in person, she was to endeavour, to convey the Queen away, by changing "their apparel." [In the Paper Office.]

secret could not be kept. But, the embarrassment now consisted, in mentioning so delicate an affair to Elizabeth[k]. The ladies of the court, getting knowledge of what so many knew, communicated to their mistress Norfolk's love for Mary. The communication was still delayed; and Cecil advised Norfolk to mention the matter himself to the Queen, which would remove suspicion, from her mind. But, Norfolk still delayed, from delicacy. Leicester was involved, in this dangerous business: But, feigning to be sick, was visited, by Elizabeth, who seeing him oppressed with something on his spirits, intimated that he ought to keep no secret from her: And now with many a sigh, and many a pardon asked, Leicester opened the whole matter to her, from the beginning. Elizabeth soon after called Norfolk to her, in the gallery of the palace; chid him much; and commanded him, upon his allegiance, to cease, in future, from such intrigues. But, he was infatuated; and persevering in his ill-fated purpose, he was, in the end, put into ward, and on the 9th of October 1569, was sent to the Tower.

Cecil now busied himself, in collecting, and arranging every information, and fact, with respect to Norfolk's conduct. He applied to the Regent Murray, who revealed freely, what he knew, and what he had done; but, Secretary Maitland, positively, refused, to say any thing upon the subject. The bishop of Ross was, formally, examined: but, speaking, with his usual circumspection, was committed to ward. As Cecil, after some months enquiries, perceived, that the evidence, which he had collected against Norfolk would not convict him of treason, the duke was enlarged, on giving the strongest assurances, that he would not any more correspond with the Scotish Queen.

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[k] It is more than probable, that it was a reliance on this intrigue, which induced the Scotish Queen, to act so weakly, with regard to the enquiry, at York.

Norfolk, however, was so much interested, in the distresses of the Queen of Scots, that he engaged, covertly, in the troubles, and plots, and practices, of the years 1570, and 1571: giving informations, and contributing money, even when invasions, from abroad, were spoken of, for the absolute release of the Scotish Queen. He was, again, committed to the Tower, in September 1571, on much more serious charges. His whole correspondence with the Queen of Scots was, regularly, intercepted. His money, which he had sent to her friends, in Scotland, was detained on the road. His servants were examined. His connections were questioned. His intercourse with foreign agents was discovered. And, he himself confessed much, and denied little. Cecil had now collected, and arranged, such proofs against Norfolk, as affected his life: So that, on the 16th of January 1571-2, he was arraigned, on several charges of treason;[1] was tried, by his peers: and making a feeble defence, he was found guilty; and at length on the 2d of June, 1572, suffered the pains of treason. Cecil, after all his circumspection, and his labours, was blamed, by Elizabeth, whose jealousies, were without end, for the execution of Norfolk, who, from his good qualities, had many friends, and much popularity; and now Elizabeth apprehending, from his fate, all the dangers of privy conspiracy, and open insurrection, became extremely offended with Cecil; whose usefulness soon restored him, however, to her favour.

The sad catastrophe of the duke's love, not to say imprudence, involved the fate of the Scotish Queen. A thousand

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[1] One of the charges was: "That whereas he knew, that Mary, *late* Queen of "Scots, *had usurped the crown of England, with the title, and arms thereof;* "he, notwithstanding, had gone about to contract marriage with her, (without "acquainting the Queen) and had sent her a great sum of money, contrary to "what he had promised under his hand." [Camden's Eliz. 171.] What falsehood! What sophistry! The Queen of Scots *had never usurped the crown of England.*

rumours of designs, to free the Queen, only, induced a thousand additional restrictions, from time to time, on her liberty. Her attendants, and servants, were reduced by Shrewsbuy, to an inconvenient number. Her household was greatly restrained, under the pretence of regulations: The Bishop of Ross, her useful agent, had been confined, in May 1571; and being charged, with raising a rebellion, against Elizabeth; was disavowed, henceforth, as an ambassador. It did not add to the Scotish Queen's comfort, when she heard of the capture of Dunbarton castle, by her enemies; owing to the negligence of her friends.

The rumours of popular risings, for the freedom of the Queen of Scots continuing, Elizabeth, Cecil, and Shrewsbury, acted in concert, for making the Scotish Queen's confinement more narrow, and rigorous. All the woods, and moors, for some miles, around, were diligently patroled, and guarded; and whenever the Queen walked out, soldiers were sent to clear the way, "that no suspected persons might be lurking "about, for evil purposes." At length, Shrewsbury, with some difficulty, effected a further reduction of the Scotish Queen's servants. "She was much grieved," said he, "and seemed "to dispair of the continuance of her life[m]." Lord Livingston was named, to remain about the Queen; but he demanded, to go to court, which Shrewsbury, positively, refused[n]. Lady Livingston had been ill, for eight weeks, and was thus unable to travel[o]. Hearing of those severities, Mons. Fenelon, the French ambassador, wrote to Cecil, in the name of the King of France, that the Scotish Queen might receive more favourable treatment; as being so nearly allied to the crown of France[p]. But, such letters were written, in vain, while ru-

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[m] Lord Shrewsbury's letter to Cecil, 9th September 1571.

[n] Lord Livingston was afterwards allowed to go to court, with the Queen's letters.

[o] Id. [p] Fenelon's letter, 17th September 1571, in the Paper Office.

mours continued of various designs, to free the unhappy Queen, though it is apparent, that her life must have ceased, in the struggle, if any attempt had been actually made: Of his right to take the life of the Scotish Queen, in case of such an attempt, Shrewsbury, had not any doubt; so much were the minds of the English nobles made up, in that age, to think their Queen's will the supreme law.

After suffering all those grievances, and vexations, the unfortunate captive was still doomed to swallow some very bitter pills, while her health declined[q]. The Duke of Norfolk, at the command of Elizabeth, issued a declaration of all his proceedings, either by himself, or others, with the Queen of Scots[r]. Soon after the arrival of the Queen, at Carlisle, her warden, the vice chamberlain, Knollys, had laid it down as a sort of maxim, which appears to have been adopted, by the statesmen of Elizabeth's court, that the Scotish Queen could not be detained, as a prisoner, *unless she were disgraced, by calumny.* The notorious enquiry, at York, at Westminster, at Hampton-court, was plainly conducted, on that maxim. Both parties seem to have made some preparations of attack, and defence, of the unhappy Queen, though with very unequal arms. Buchanan scribbled his *Detection of Mary's doings:* and Murray caused Buchanan, and Wood, to forge *Paris's Declaration,* in *case more proof should be wanted.* On the other side, the Bishop of Ross, with the hints, and informations, of Lord Herries, and Lord Boyd, wrote *Mary's Defence.* The *detection,* and *defence,* seem to have both appeared, in 1571, during Mary's troubles[s].

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[q] There remains, in the Paper Office, a letter, from her, to the French ambassador, Fenelon, 18th Novemb. 1571; requesting him to send her certain cordials, and an ointment, to rub her side, and stomach, with; adding, that the want of air, and exercise, had contributed to the decline of her health.

[r] The declaration, 20th Novemb. 1571, is in the Paper Office.

[s] On the 1st of November 1571, Cecil wrote to Walsingham, then the Queen's

There remains a letter from Mary, on this subject, to the French ambassador, Fenelon, 22d November 1571; complaining, that a scandalous book, in Latin, detracting from her character, lately printed, had been put into her hands, by Mr. Bateman, an officer of this castle, who, she was sure, would not have done it, had he not been directed to do so: She earnestly entreated the ambassador to lay the subject before his master; and to request him to write to Queen Elizabeth, to suppress such infamous publications against her: as the French King had suppressed, in France, at the request of Queen Elizabeth, all publications, written by her subjects, in her favour: But, at all events, she begged, that this publication might be suppressed, in France, where she had many friends, who were interested, in her concerns, or that publications, in her favour, might be freely circulated there. She had requested a priest, to administer the sacrament to her, according to her religion, and conscience; instead of which consolation, Mr. Bateman brought her a book, defaming her character, written, by an atheist, Buchanan, whose impiety she well knew; and had requested the Queen of England, that he might be removed,

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ambassador, at Paris: "Having this present occasion, to send two of my Lord "Oxford's men, to Paris, at his lordship's request; I thought good, also, there- "with to send to you, *this little treatise*, newly, printed, in Latin. I hear," he adds, "it is to be *translated into English*, with additions of many other sup- "plements of like condition. [Digges's Ambass. 151.] This measure is explained, in another letter, from Cecil to the same ambassador, with some special instructions, from Elizabeth, with regard to Mary. To many arguments, which he was to use to the King of France, in order to dissuade him, from taking part with the imprisoned Queen of Scots, it was thus added: "And here, (were it not "amiss) to have divers of *Buchanan's little Latin books*, to present, if *need be*, to "the King, as from yourself, and likewise *to some of the other noblemen of his* "*council*: For, they will serve to good effect, *to disgrace her; which must be* "*done, before other purposes can be attained.*" [Ib. 152.] But, is *calumny* a moral act? No. Is it religious? No. Is it lawful? No. We thus see Elizabeth, and Cecil, acting *immorally, irreligiously*, and *illegally*, for ruining the Scotish Queen. They even went further in pursuit of their guilty object. Lesley's *Defence*

from being near her son, to whom, she understood, he had been appointed preceptor[t].

Thus doubly calumnious were Elizabeth, and Cecil, by circulating libels against the Scotish Queen, in every language; while they would not suffer any writings to be published, in her favour, in England, or in France: And thus, is established, for ever, the record of Elizabeth, and Cecil's immorality, irreligion and injustice, if calumniation be immoral, and it be irreligious, and unjust, to do unto others what they themselves would not suffer,—"from the calumnious arts of counterfeited "truth."

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was stopped, at the printer's, in May 1569, before eight leaves of it were printed, as we know from Cecil himself. It was now sent abroad to be printed. On the 13th of April 1571, Charles Baillie was taken, at Dover, with certain books, in English, for *Defence* of the Queen of Scots' honour, and title. [Lesley's *Diary*,—in Calig. iii. 37.] Baillie was imprisoned, and racked—to make him tell all that he knew: Thus low, and vulgar, and base, could Elizabeth, and Cecil act, in pursuit of their guilty objects!

[t] The original of Mary's letter to the French ambassador, 22d Novemb. 1571, is in the Paper Office. There is, in the same office, a letter, from Mr. Bateman to Cecil, 12th December 1571: "Notwithstanding his [Bateman's] assertions to the "contrary, the Scotish Queen would not believe, but that the Latin book, which "he had given her, was sent, by his lordship's orders, though he declared, he gave "it to her, of his own act. She said, she knew the author was George Buchanan, "a vile atheist, who was schoolmaster to her son. She has not seen any of *the* "*English*, or *Scotish copies* of that book, [Buchanan's Detection] though there "are some, in the house; but, the earl has ordered, they shall be kept, from the "sight of her, or any of her people." The Queen of Scots knew better than Bateman how Cecil bestowed such gifts; as we may see above.

SECTION XIV.

From the Death of Norfolk, till the Queen's Attainder.

THE Scotish Queen might have, easily, foreseen, from the jealousies of Elizabeth, and the vigilance of Cecil, that her intercourse, with Norfolk, would neither release her, from confinement, nor contribute to her comfort. But, the Queen, from her arrival, in England, had allowed confident hope, to delude her into notions, and expectations, which probability did not warrant, and possibility could alone justify. Acting upon such delusive principles, she could, only, expect to meet disappointment, in her progress. What she wrote, however, to the Bishop of Ross, in answer to his first letter to her, after his imprisonment, merits our approbation: She had now been confined, said she, for ten weeks to one chamber, which, considering her disorder, endangered her life; and, however her death might gratify her enemies, she called God to witness, she considered herself, in no danger, from the Earl of Shrewsbury, who would have a due regard to his honour: She was determined to do her duty, in preserving her life; but if it pleased God to take it, *it would not be much to her grief;* yet would she die, with the constancy of a good christian, and of a Queen, descended of such blood as hers: She should rejoice to leave this false world, with a fair conscience; knowing she had left a son, and heir, who had friends, that were able to defend her cause, and his, after she was gone[u]. This letter to her faithful

[u] Letter in the Paper Office, 22d of November 1571.

agent contains a notable mixture of despondency, and firmness.

In the subsequent month, Shrewsbury was summoned, by Elizabeth, to attend her on special business, in January then next:[v] And old Sir Ralph Sadler was dispatched, to take charge of the Scotish Queen, in the absence of her warden. Sir Ralph arrived, at Sheffield, before the commencement of the new year. And, he had, immediately, his first interview with the fair object of his charge. He assured her of his wish to do every thing acceptable to her, consistent with his duty. She replied, that she was in Elizabeth's hands, who would order, as she pleased: But, she thought herself, hardly, and undeservedly, treated. To this intimation, Sir Ralph replied, in the cant of the court, that her own conscience would tell her, that the Queen had good cause, to do more than she had done, as he would convince her, if she pleased. But, Mary declined to go into fruitless crimination[w]. Sir Ralph, however, seems to have soon after renewed his conversation, though the Scotish Queen came not out of her chamber, where Lady Shrewsbury often saw her. The Queen, who had so much cause to feel, that she was not free, complained much of Elizabeth's hard usuage, in depriving her of her liberty. The time was now come, for Sir Ralph to enlarge on the mildness of his mistress's government. The Scotish Queen, said he, had only herself to blame, by constantly stirring up plots against her government; and yet no other prince would have used so much courtesy. It is apparent, that Sir Ralph, with all his experience, slurred over the fundamental complaint of Mary, which comprehended all other grievances. I came into England a fugitive, to ask my relation, for aid; and she imprisoned me: What moral right had she, to deprive me of my

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[v] Elizabeth's letter to Shrewsbury, 3d December 1571, in the Paper Office.

[w] Sir Ralph's letter to Cecil, 3d January 1571-2, in the Paper Office.

liberty? Cecil, we may remember, attempted to answer this question, and failed, egregiously, and Sir Ralph was silent. This immoral, and illegitimate, conduct of Elizabeth gave Mary a right, to use her best endeavours to regain her freedom: And as Elizabeth placed herself in a hostile attitude against Mary; so the Scotish Queen acquired the same right to treat Elizabeth, as an enemy. Mary added, she knew not what the Duke of Norfolk, and others, might have done: They must be answerable for their own actions: but for her own part, she was innocent of any attempts against her Majesty, or her government. As to the Bishop of Ross; he was a fearful priest, who would say any thing; and if he was at liberty, and out of the realm, would unsay it again. She disclaimed all connection with the man, named Rudolphi; and denied Sir Ralph's charges of plots, though he suspected, that she knew more of such matters than she would acknowledge. He was soon tired of his situation, at Sheffied, and wished to return to London; as he could not, easily, please either Queen.

Shrewsbury relieved Sir Ralph, in this invidious charge, on the 3d of February 1571-2. He brought with him an epistle from Cecil, in the name of his mistress. The secretary disapproved highly of the Scotish Queen's last letter to her majesty, which was filled, said he, with "uncomely, pas- "sionate, ireful, and vindictive speeches;[x]" and he referred the Scotish Queen to a memorial, which Shrewsbury would deliver; and to which her Majesty desired a rational, and temperate answer. Elizabeth was so used to flattery, and submission, that she could not relish the plain, and vigorous writing

[x] The above expressions were, however, softened in the real letter to the following: "Her majesty wishes, that reason may be present with you, and passion ab- "sent, at the reading of the memorial;" and it closes in this manner: "Your "cousin that wishes you a better mind." The original answer of the Queen of Scots, remains in the Paper Office; consisting of *fourteen pages*, closely written, in *French*: It is dated 18th Feb. 1571-2.

of such a character, as the Scotish Queen, who derived animation, from her feelings. The two Queens could not easily join issue, on any point; so differently did they feel, and think. Shrewsbury informed Cecil, that the Queen of Scots had written her mind, at great length, to her Majesty. Since his return, the Scotish Queen had been once out; "and she was so eager "to walk out, that she was content to step over her shoes into "the snow;"[y] Such was the anxiety of a prisoner. Shrewsbury had been called to London, to give his advice, about the measures, which were, plainly, in contemplation, with regard to the Scotish Queen. And, his charge having some intimation of his advice, treated her warden, with less ceremony of manner, and more sharpness of speech, than her usual courtesy dictated.

Meantime, Scotland was distracted, as well by foreign, as by civil war, arising from Elizabeth's guilty passions of hatred, interest, and ambition. By her expeditions, her armies laid waste the southern, and western districts of that unhappy kingdom[z]. The Queen's friends found new leaders, in Maitland, the ablest statesman, and in Grange, the best soldier. But, the Queen, and her friends, sustained a great loss, in April 1571, by the capture of Dunbarton castle, and with it, Archbishop Hamilton; who being tried for crimes, whereof he was not guilty, was soon after barbarously executed. Lennox, the Regent of Elizabeth, did not please her; as he disobeyed her instructions, and violated his engagements. He ere long met his fate, in September 1571: while he was holding a convention, at Stirling, he was surprised, and slain, by

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[y] Letter 18th Feb. 1571-2, in the Paper Office.

[z] There, indeed, remains, a letter from Elizabeth to her lieutenant, the Earl of Sussex, in May 1570; disapproving of her *auxiliaries* having marched from Edinburgh to Glasgow. [Calig. c. ii. fol. 173.] But, such was the duplicity of her habit, that her declarations are always to be taken, with great limitations.

a detachment, which had been sent, from Edinburgh; and which had it been as well conducted, as the expedition was ably planned; the whole of the King's party had been destroyed. The Earl of Mar was chosen successor to Lennox: But, being thwarted by Morton, the agent of Elizabeth, in his endeavours for peace, died in October 1572, some said of poison, some, of a broken heart. Morton now succeeded Mar, as Regent; and ruled this unhappy kingdom, for many a year, with an iron rod, forged by Elizabeth, and exercised by him.

The French King, though not the French government, seems to have been sincere, but feeble, in his endeavours, to protect the Queen of Scots. The year 1572, opened with a treaty, between England, and France: and Charles IX, strenuously, insisted, that the Scotish Queen, and her cause, should be introduced into the treaty, which was then under negotiation. The English ambassadors, easily, answered, in technical language, that they had no authority, to treat of that Queen, or her pretensions[a]. As an ancient ally, and Dowager of France, the French King might have insisted, that the treaty might be postponed, till they obtained powers, for so just a purpose. But, the whole conversation of the English envoys evinced, sufficiently, what had now become apparent, that Elizabeth had, finally, determined, to imprison the Scotish Queen, for life: But, the questions of fitness, and of right, in making the Queen of Scots answerable, in her person, for the supposititious security of Elizabeth, will always recur[b]. That Queen coming into England, peaceably, to ask, for safety, could not be imprisoned upon any principle of national law, of any moral system, or of any religious establishment.

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[a] Digges, 190-91-2.

[b] Elizabeth pretended to answer the French King's desire of inserting the Scotish Queen, and her cause, in the pending treaty: But, what she said was mere sophistry, by introducing Scotland, and its King, which were quite beside the purpose of the French King's proposal, of introducing such a question, as the Queen of Scots' pretensions. Digges, 186-7.

But, scenes of a somewhat different sort were, at hand. Burghley had exhausted his whole policy, and artifices, to induce Elizabeth to proceed, effectually, against the Duke of Norfolk, who had lain long, in the Tower, and against the Queen of Scots, whom he intended, to pursue, criminally Owing to Elizabeth's temperament, the Scotish Queen became, daily, a greater object of jealousy, dread, and vexation, while France, and Italy, and Spain, pitied her hard fate, and endeavoured her relief.

In this state of things, with regard to both those great persons, Burghley advised the calling of a Parliament, which he could influence, for consultation, and advice. Meanwhile, he applied to the English bishops, for their spiritual advice, in respect to the Scotish Queen[c]. The Parliament assembled, on the 8th of May 1572[d].[a] The Scotish Queen had been, sufficiently, calumniated, both at home, and abroad, by Burghley's artifices, to admit of any member, of either house of Parliament, to be ignorant of what was laid to her charge, either proved, or unproved, by whatever means. There seems to have been no speech from the throne, pointing to the causes of the Parliamentary meeting: But, we perceive Burghley very busy, in managing the several members of both houses of Parliament. We see what he had communicated, privately, to both: We see the "reasons, drawn out of the Scriptures, for proceeding "severely against the Scotish Queen:"[e] We see "an argu-

[c] The bishops, accordingly, presented to Elizabeth *reasons*, from the word of God, to prove, that she might, lawfully put, the Queen of Scots to death. See this document, in Calig. c. ii. 524: D'Ewes' Journal, 207. Here, then, are the sacred scriptures brought, to justify manifest wrong. Some of the Scotish bishops had, sufficiently, disgraced themselves, by declaring, in favour of Bothwell's marriage with their Queen. We now see the English bishops, bringing *holy* writ, to justify uncharitableness, violences, and wrong!

[d] D'Ewes' Journal, 205.

[e] D'Ewes' Journal. Those reasons, are, no doubt, the bishops' reasons on the same subject.

" ment, persuading the Queen's majesty to have great care of " the safety of her own person :[f]" We see " reasons out of the " civil law, against the Scotish Queen :"[g] We see " reasons, " to prove the fitness, both in honour, and in justice, of pro- " ceding against the Queen of Scots, for the treasons com- " mitted by her[h]." Both houses, owing to those causes, were violently heated, as well by their zeal for religion, as their enmity to the Scotish Queen, and by their attachment to Elizabeth: They saw every object through the mist of prejudice. Under this influence, it was said, in the humble petition to her majesty, " that the *late Queen of Scots* being driven through " violence, to take harbour in your realm, had not only your " majesty's most gracious *protection,* but was saved, by your " authority, from the execution of death, within her own king- " dom.[i]" But, *protection,* and *imprisonment* are quite different, in their nature; and supply very different inferences: The fact is, that the Scotish Queen was *imprisoned,* and not *protected,* when she landed, peaceably, in England: And neither Elizabeth, nor Cecil, ever justified this act of imprisonment; because, it could not be defended, by any law, or any policy: It was a mere act of violence, which continued to the present moment; and nullified the reasonings of those, who called for the blood of the Scotish Queen. The Commons voted a petition, for the execution of the Duke of Norfolk; which was, accordingly done, on the second of June 1572. The Lords sent to the Commons a bill of attainder of the daughter of James V. the late Queen of Scots: This bill was passed; and was returned to the Lords[k]. But, the Parliament were, immediately, commanded, by the Queen, to adjourn themselves;

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[f] D'Ewes', 211.

[g] Ib. 215: There were *reasons* in *answer* to those *reasons:* and there were reasons, for doubting the reasons, in answer. Ib. 216-17. [h] Ib. 218.

[i] Ib, 215: [k] Ib. 221-3.

yet, this adjournment, saith D'Ewes, put an end to this present session; her majesty giving her assent to thirteen public, and four private acts,[1] though the bill of attainder was, virtually, rejected, by Elizabeth; who seems to have been alarmed, by the zeal, and vehemence, of the two houses, which Burghley had promoted, and which induced her, to put a sudden end to their proceedings, even sooner than her minister expected.

Meanwhile, Burghley, in the usual style of his policy, sent commissioners, soon after the execution of Norfolk, to accuse the Scotish Queen of certain matters, with which she may be charged[m].

This measure was communicated, by Elizabeth, to Shrewsbury, on the 11th of June 1572. There was a more elaborate epistle written to the Scotish Queen; informing her of the same measure; and that both houses of Parliament had earnestly petitioned her that measures might be taken against that Queen, as a person, continually, employed, in schemes to deprive Elizabeth of her crown, and to foment rebellion, in England: The Queen of Scots was now required to answer the questions, which would be put to her, by the royal commis-

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[1] Ib. 225. The Parliament did not meet again till 8th of February 1575-6. Ib. 236.

[m] The commissioners were Lord Delawar, Sir Ralph Sadler, Dr. Wilson, and Bromley, the solicitor general. The matters of charge had been drawn by Burghley; as we might infer, from the first article, which he always included, in his enumerations of charge. Burghley, in his letter, to Shrewsbury, of the 5th of September 1572; directing him to sift the Queen of Scots, about the purposes wherewith she was charged; desires Shrewsbury "to tempt her patience, to pro-"voke her to answer somewhat." Lodge, ii. 71-2. All mankind must reprobate such directions, as little better, than torture: Yet, all the wardens, from the epoch of her imprisonment, used this practice of provoking the indignation of the Scotish Queen, to say what was unfit; and then to report it to Elizabeth. Knollys's letters are full of such grossnesses.

sioners, plainly, and not give way to frivolous answers, which, she was told, would only injure her cause[n].

The Scotish Queen might have said, generally; if I be such a character, as you describe, send me a passport, to carry me out of England: She, undoubtedly, protested against the jurisdiction of the Queen of England, and against the authority of her commissioners, to demand answers of her.

The Scotish Queen now answered those several charges, with a settled mind, and countenance, as we learn, from Camden, who has given both the charges, and answers. The first charge might have been worded in this manner: You claimed the crown of England, with the style, and arms thereof, in the life of Francis II. and since his demise, and have not relinquished this claim, though you were bound, by the treaty of Edinburgh, so to do, and have been often requested. No: She ought not to have been charged, with this article, because, before she left France, she gave a decisive reason, why she ought not to be so charged. She said, that she was a married woman, under the power of her husband; and they were both under the authority of the French King, who commanded them, to assume the title, and arms of England; but, since her husband's death, she had never used such title, and arms, and never intended to use them, during the life of Elizabeth, and her legitimate issue: As to the treaty of Edinburgh, with the making of which the several negotiators ought to be ashamed, she had a right, as a sovereign, to refuse her ratification; because it was made by her negotiators, who stated, they had no authority to consent to such a clause; which was in itself unfit to be ratified; as it conveyed a different meaning, from the true one. Now; this reasoning never was answered, because, it could not be, fairly, answered; Yet, was this charge

[n] Those letters are in the Paper Office.

always brought forward, unfairly, by Cecil, one of the negotiators of the treaty of Edinburgh, in order, by the accumulation of petty charges, to make out one great act of efficient crimination.

As an introduction to her particular answer to each several charge, the Scotish Queen might have reasoned, in this manner: Upon the assurances of your Queen, I came voluntarily into England, to claim that asylum, and protection, which, contrary to treaty, you gave, year after year, to every plotter, murderer, and traitor, who fled from my realm to yours: But, instead of an asylum, and protection, you immediately placed me in ward, and have imprisoned my person, from that epoch to this moment, without pretending to justify my imprisonment, which is against all law, all morals, and all religion: And, because you acted against law, morals, and religion, when you imprisoned me; you thereby gave me a right to free myself, from your unwarrantable imprisonment, by all the means, and all the persons, within my power, however inconvenient to you; as you brought that inconvenience upon yourselves, by your own wrong, to my injury: You have carried on enquiries, with regard *to* my conduct, within my own kingdom, in the unfairest manner, for the odious purposes of calumniation, and detraction; and you have published libels against me, which you have sent into France, with the base design of depriving me of my friends, by representing me, as a person unworthy of their protection, or kindness. Thus might Mary have remonstrated to those commissioners, who came, to tempt, and betray, rather than to discuss, and settle, any point: What they charged her with; and what she answered, may be seen, in Camden, Strype, and the public papers that have been printed; and she sent both the charges, and answers, to the French ambassador, on the 19th of June 1572[o].

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[o] Calig. C. iii. 314. The first paper, entitled, *Certen Articles,* is republished,

Owing to all those events, the year 1572, may be considered, as fatal to the hopes of the Scotish Queen, who was now at the age of thirty. An attainder, by the two Houses of Parliament, stood recorded against her. Her correspondences had been almost all intercepted: And, the answers, however guarded, which had been, by Burghley's artifices, obtained from her to those supposititious charges, laid open many of her intrigues, for her freedom. Her faithful, and zealous agent, the Bishop of Ross, after a long imprisonment, was ordered, to quit the kingdom. Her party, in Scotland, by neglect, and mismanagement, had almost melted away, if we except the persons, who remained, in Edinburgh-castle, which was taken, in the subsequent year, by Elizabeth's army[p]. And above all, *the massacre of Paris,* by exciting general indigna-

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in Murdin, 218; the second paper, containing *the Queen's Answers;* was reprinted in Camden's Hist. of Eliz. Transl. 181, and Strangwaye's Life of Mary. If Cecil had been as prudent, as he was wise, he would not have so often brought the treaty of Edinburgh upon the carpet; as it was disgraceful to him: By the English treaty, he endeavoured to swindle the Scotish Queen out of her inheritance: Contrary to the declaration of the French ambassadors, that they had *no power, to treat of the Queen's title,* he inserted a clause, whereby, he made her renounce, for ever, her claim to the English crown. And, because the Scotish Queen detected his knavery, and refused to ratify such a treaty, with such a clause, he, continually, brought forward her conduct, as matter of charge against her. Cecil concurred, on that occasion, with the Scotish insurgents, in forging the Scotish treaty of Edinburgh, by which the French negotiators, contrary to their declaration of want of powers to Elizabeth, were made to give away almost the whole sovereignty of the Scotish Queen; and yet, Cecil did not blush, when he was detected, in such a fraud, as evinced him capable of any villainy.

[p] There remains a letter of Maitland to Q. Mary, 10th August 1572; representing the decayed state of her party, in Scotland; the cruelties exercised on the people, in the castle; the remissness of the French, in sending them aid; and mentioning the abstinence, which they had been obliged to agree to. Calig. C. iii. 304. After the capture of the castle of Edinburgh, in 1573, Maitland died of poison, and the gallant Kirkaldy, the governor, was hanged. After these events, the Scotish Queen cannot be said to have had any avowed party, in her native kingdom.

tion, gave a severe stroke to every pretension of the unfortunate Queen.

The unhappy Queen, like the man in deep waters, catched at the straw, which was the most likely to save her. Such feeble efforts, were easily baffled, by the pretences of Elizabeth, who had, by the imprisonment of Mary, done her such an injury, as nothing, which the Scotish Queen had done, could balance. The Earl of Northumberland, who had escaped to Scotland, was surrendered, by Morton, in consideration of money paid him; and the ill-fated earl was soon after executed, as a traitor, at York. It is the remark of Camden, that Morton had received from Northumberland, many favours, when he had fled into England, after the murder of Rizzio: But, who ever, he adds, were grateful to the unfortunate.

The policy of Elizabeth, in not assenting to the act of attainder against the Queen of Scots was, formally, communicated to her, by Shrewsbury. The favoured Queen expressed herself much pleased; and said, "she hoped, as her Majesty "had respected the justice of her cause, in one point, she "would do so in others; and that her enemies would not "attempt to prejudice her Majesty farther against her:" The earl advised her to continue in that disposition; and to lay aside all sinister dealings, as the only way to continue her Majesty's favour: But, said he to Burghley, "I cannot pre-"tend to say, that she will forbear her accustomed practices[q]." No: while the warden continued to intercept, and open, her letters, she received them, from his hands, with expressions of indignation. But, that a high spirited Queen should not, under an unprincipled, and unjust, imprisonment, sit down, without a struggle, was supposed, by Elizabeth, and her statesmen, to be vastly unnatural, and absurd. Yet, was the absurdity, and the unreasonableness, all their own; as the conduct of the impri-

[q] Letter in the Paper Office, 9th July 1572.

soned Queen was exactly what might have been expected; being so natural. Elizabeth had indulged her guilty passions, respecting the Scotish Queen, till she became *crazy;* and being *crazy*, supposed that she could not exist, if the Queen of Scots were free: It may, however, be asked, how Elizabeth existed, while her rival queen enjoyed her freedom. *Wickedness* is a kind of *voluntary frenzy*, and a *chosen distraction*, saith TILLOTSON: And we may thus infer, what must have been the state of Elizabeth's mind, when, about that time, she told her ministers, "that the Queen of Scots's head should "never be in quiet[r]."

[r] Hearne's Glo'ster, ii, 673.

SECTION XV.

From the Queen's Attainder, till Morton's Execution.

ELIZABETH, from the events of 1572, seems to have obtained some higher authority over the Scotish Queen, and her ruined kingdom. Charles IX. withdrew his affections, from the Dowager of France, when he was told, by falsifiers, that she relied more upon Spain, than upon his attachment. The French King, and Elizabeth entered into a treaty of amity, and aid, at Blois, in April 1572[s]. When this treaty was ratified, by Montmorency, he made a feeble effort, that some favour might be shown to the Scotish Queen, and that the Scotish matters, embarrassed as they were, might be adjusted. But, such feeble efforts were, easily, baffled, by the pretences of Elizabeth, who had, by the imprisonment of Mary, done her such an injury, as nothing, which the Scotish Queen had practised to Elizabeth, could balance[t].

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[s] The article in it, with regard to Scotland, shows, sufficiently, how much reason the Queen's friends, in her native kingdom, had to complain of being sacrificed, by French perfidy, or folly: "The contracting parties," says the treaty, "shall make "no innovations, in Scotland; but shall defend it against foreigners, nor shall "they cherish factions, in Scotland: However, it shall be lawful, for the Queen "of England, to prosecute, by arms, those Scots, who shall harbour the English "rebels, now, in Scotland." What was this but a sacrifice of every one, who did not bow the knee to Morton, the English agent. Under that treaty, Elizabeth sent an army to Edinburgh, in the subsequent year, which took the castle; and thereby suppressed the Queen's party.

[t] There remains an instruction, dated the 11th of January 1572-3, to the Earl of Worcester, going ambassador to Paris; with the answer to be given by him, if any

Elizabeth carried her fears, and anxieties, about the safe-keeping of the Scotish Queen, almost to insanity. In February 1573, the captive Queen received some money from France, which was due to her, as a part of her dower, and which inspired the persecuting sovereign with terrible apprehensions. and those were heightened, by some intimations, from the Earl of Huntington of a suspicion of some attempt to rescue the captive. Shrewsbury endeavoured to pacify Elizabeth's inquietudes in vain: Her guilty passions were not to be allayed, by whatever assurances[u]. But, Elizabeth, from her temperament, was seldom free from some disquiet. Two daughters of Lord Howard of Effingham; Lady Sheffield, and Frances Howorth, contended together, who should love Lord Leicester, the most;[v] and the Queen thought not well of them, and not the better of him: So there were spies placed upon him. Lord Oxford was lately grown into great credit; as the Queen delighted more, in his personage, and his dancing, and valour, than any other; if it were not for his fickle head, he would have passed any of them shortly[w]. Lady Burghley unwisely declared herself, as if she were jealous, which circumstance came to the Queen's ears, whereat she was not a little offended.

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application should be made, on behalf of the Queen of Scots, either *for her life,* or her deliverance. Digges, 320-1. This evinces, that Elizabeth's government, as early as January 1573, aimed at the life of the Scotish Queen.

[u] Shrewsbury wrote Elizabeth, on the 1st of March 1573; assuring her, that he should keep his prisoner sure enough; so as to be forthcoming, at her majesty's command, "ether *quyke,* or *ded;*" and that if any forcible attempt were made, to take her away, "the greatest peril is sure to be hers." Lodge, ii. 96, who strongly reprobates *the frightful passages,* in that letter. Shrewsbury wrote to Burghley, in less terrific terms, how Queen Mary was grieved at *Lady Livingston's imprisonment,* and at the Scotish matters; the siege of Edinburgh, and the destruction of her friends, and subjects. Ib. 99.

[v] Leicester married the former, and Hertford the latter.

[w] Lord Oxford married Burghley's daughter; and because the minister would not save Norfolk, vowed vengence against his own wife.

At all these love matters " the lord treasurer *winketh*, and will " not meddle." Hatton is still sick; and the Queen goeth almost every day, to see how he doth[x]. Such were the doings, at the court of Elizabeth, who, we are to recollect, was now at the *discreet age of forty*. Meantime, the Scotish Queen was warded, in *Sheffield lodge*, until Sheffield castle should be cleansed[y].

It was here, that Shrewsbury communicated to the Scotish Queen the news of the capture of Edinburgh castle, with the fate of her friends. The Queen, as might be expected, was much displeased with his information; saying that he never brought her any thing good, but every thing unwelcome: The earl replied, that she ought to approve of the Queen's consideration, for her son, in putting herself to great charges, to recover Edinburgh castle for him: " A pretty matter," said she; " no thanks at all, for helping my son, to annoy me." From this event, which delivered Scotland to Morton, as Regent, and as Elizabeth's agent, the Scotish Queen resolved " to give no ear to intelligence from Scotland, but would keep " quiet, and use all means to preserve her health." Shrewsbury added to Cecil, " that though she makes little show of " any grief; yet, this news nipps her very sore[z]." There appears to have been a very vulgar propensity, in such statesmen, as Shrewsbury, to consider every event, under one view, only, as it pleased Elizabeth; but never, as the same event struck at the heart of another queen, as high minded as she: Neither did he reflect, that every one is *nipped sore*, who has played his *last card*, in whatever game.

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[x] Gilbert Talbot's court news, to his father, Lord Shrewsbury, 11th May 1573. Lodge, ii. 100-1.

[y] Id. Sheffield *lodge* still remains, while Sheffield castle has been long demolished, and its site occupied, by the town *of Smiths*.

[z] Shrewsbury's letter to Cecil, 7th June 1573, in the Paper Office.

The Scotish Queen had now played her last card; her usual hopes seem to have left her; and the misery of her mind brought with it the debility of her body. Buxton, like the watering places, at present, was then the great restorative of bad heath, and depressed spirits. As early as July 1573, the Scotish Queen desired to be removed to *Buxton wells*[a]. The French ambassador represented the bad state of her health, and the humanity of gratifying her wish. Elizabeth, who feared, that the worlds of France, and Spain, would regard her as a woman, without a heart, and a Queen, without feeling, consented, that Shrewsbury should carry the Scotish Queen to Buxton wells, in *a secret manner*, with great care, that she did not effect her escape, and no strangers to be permitted to approach her infectious presence. To Buxton wells was she carried, in August 1573, from Chatsworth, where Shrewsbury, and his family, then resided[b]. Lord Burghley was now well stricken in years; and began to feel the infirmities of age, as well as the debility, arising from mental labour; and in August 1573, went to Buxton, for the benefit of the waters, while the Scotish Queen sought the same advantage: But, *the waters* are administered, in vain, without air, exercise, and amusement. Lord Burghley could not be at Buxton, without seeing the Scotish Queen, whose health was broken, and whose charms were on the wane: But, he had seen, and conversed with her before; and he had read many letters, which warned all those, who approached that princess, to beware of *female charm.* Elizabeth had unluckily read the same epistles; and, strange to tell, she conceived a violent suspicion, that Burghley had become partial to the Queen of

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[a] Lodge, ii. 108-9.

[b] Lodge, iii. 13. From Chatsworth Mary wrote Cecil; recommending the President du Verdier, the chancellor of her dowry; and asking for his good offices. Calig. C. iv. 119.

Scots, notwithstanding his rooted hatred; and even went to Buxton, to ingratiate himself with Elizabeth's rival[c]. Needless jealousy could not go beyond this green-eyed conceipt of Elizabeth's tainted head, and heart. In this fit of lunacy, Elizabeth equally suspected Shrewsbury, and equally expressed her guilty discontent to this vigilant warden[d], who tried, perhaps, in vain, to tranquillize her restless humour.

The year 1574, opened with fresh attempts, to disquiet Elizabeth, and to injure Mary, by new rumours, while she still remained, in Sheffield castle. William Wharton appears to have been employed, by Walsingham, as a spy; to watch the Scotish Queen's movements, in the north: He seems to have been recommended, for this service, by Sir John Forster, a warden on the northern frontiers[e]. Such, then, were the arti-

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[c] Strype's Ann. ii. 248-9. On this subject, Burghley wrote to Shrewsbury, 24th Decemb. 1575: "My Lord, it is overtrue, and overmuch against reason, "that upon my being, at Buckstons, last, advantage was sought, by some, that "loved me not, to confirm in her majesty a former conceit, which had been la- "boured, to put into her head, that I was, of late time, become friendly to the "Queen of Scots, and that I had no disposition to encounter her practices; and "now at my being at Buckstons, her majesty did directly conceive, that my being "there was, by means of your lordship, and my lady, to enter into intelligence, "with the Queen of Scots; and hereof, at my return to her majesty's presence, I "had very sharpe reproofs, for my going to Buckstons, with plain charging of me, "for favouring the Queen of Scots; and that in so earnest a sort, as I never looked "for; knowing my integrity to her majesty; but, especially knowing how con- "trariously the Queen of Scots conceived of me, for many things passed to the "offence of the Queen of Scots, &c. Lodge, ii. 131-2.

[d] Shrewsbury wrote Elizabeth, from Sheffield castle, on the 29th of December 1573: "He conceived, by some words, which the Queen's majesty uttered of late "to his son, Gilbert, an alteration, in her favour, which greatly discomforted "him: He asserted his faithful service; and he descanted on the hatred of the "Queen of Scots against him, for the severe keeping her; and considered her as "his principal enemy;" &c. Murdin, 272-3.

[e] Sir John Forster wrote to the Earl of Bedford; commending Wharton, who had been directed, by Walsingham, for bringing to light the Queen of Scotland's devices, which were reported to the Earl of Huntington, at York, the 27th of

fices, which were resorted to, by Elizabeth's ministers, for entrapping the Scotish Queen, in her endeavours, for freedom. Meantime, Shrewsbury was full as much disquieted, as Mary, herself, by these unmanly artifices[f]. He complained to Burghley; but, for sometime, complained in vain, as to the great affliction of this weighty charge[g]. Among the other infelicities, which about that time, occurred, in the Scotish Queen's embarrassed affairs, she lost her Secretary Roulet, who died, in August 1574; a misfortune this, which supplied proofs how little intrigue she carried on, at that period of her misfortunes[h]. Whatever effect this discovery of nothing, in the coffers of Roulet, might have had on Elizabeth's temperament; certain it is, that she then enjoyed a lucid interval of some quiet, when the rival Queen was mentioned to her. Mary, it seems, by sending Elizabeth presents, of "certain of her works" found the proper key of her impervious heart. Leicester himself communicated this happy change to the wretched Shrewsbury[i].

March 1574. Ib. 443. There is an order delivered to Huntington, by Wharton; touching his repair to Sheffield, and *being there apprehended,* to *prevent suspicion,* by her. Ib. 444.

[f] Shrewsbury wrote to Burghley, from Sheffield, on the 16th of April 1574, about the calumniations of Corker, one of his chaplains, who had combined with Haworth, another clergyman, to infuse into Elizabeth a suspicion, that Shrewsbury secretly favoured the Scotish Queen; and vindicating himself, and asserting his fidelity to Elizabeth, and enmity to Mary's pretensions. He intimated to Burghley, that he would think himself most happy, to be rid of so weighty, and cumbersome a charge, "the care whereof," said he, "has almost brought me to "my grave." Lodge, ii. 116-17. [g] Ib. 118-19.

[h] Shrewsbury wrote Secretary Walsingham, on the 31st August 1574, that Roulet died, yesterday morning, and that he, the letter writer, thinking this a good occasion, to find something that might serve the Queen's majesty, immediately, took possession of the keys of Roulet's coffers; and had made a long search; but could find nothing of any effect. Ib. 119-20.

[i] By his letter of the 5th of September, Leicester intimated, that Queen Elizabeth seemed of late to receive very kindly *such tokens,* as Queen Mary hath sent her; and seemed disposed to send her, soon, some *token,* in return. The Queen's majesty had intimated this to the French ambassador, who would, probably, com-

But, this state of good humour did not last long. An event happened, towards the end of 1574, which completely deprived Elizabeth of her recent moderation; as it touched the string, that affected her Turkish prejudice, the most: Lady Lennox, and Lady Shrewsbury managed to marry two persons of the blood royal, without her knowledge:[k] For this family offence, the two ladies were sent to prison, and Lord Shrewsbury incurred the Queen's indignation; And, the whole intrigue, by Elizabeth's jealousy, was attributed to the Scotish Queen, who had an apparent interest to oppose such a marriage; as it raised up competitors to her own pretensions on the crown. By letters to Elizabeth, and Burghley, Shrewsbury wrote every thing, that he conceived would palliate the conduct of the imprisoned ladies, and justify himself[l]. The result of all these intrigues, arising out of that marriage, was the appointment of Henry, earl of Huntington, who also had *his pretensions* to the crown, to be president of the council, in the north, with new instructions, that were more applicable to the occasion, and more preventive of the danger.

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municate the same to Queen Mary: But, Leicester had sent the notice, directly, to Shrewsbury, that he might anticipate the ambassador's communication. Lodge, ii. 121. There is, indeed, in Calig. E. vi. 288, a letter of the 7th of November 1574, from La Motte-Fenelon, the French ambassador, with a present, from the Queen of Scots, to Queen Elizabeth.

[k] The happy couple were Charles, Earl of Lennox, the son of Lady Lennox, by her late husband; and of course a younger brother of the deceased Lord Darnley; and he was now married to Elizabeth Cavendish, who was descended, by the female line, from Henry VII., the daughter of Lady Shrewsbury, by her former husband: And, of this offensive marriage, between the Earl of Lennox, and Elizabeth Cavendish, was the Lady Arabella Stewart, who gave so much disquiet to King James, in subsequent times.

[l] Lodge, ii. 122—4. Shrewsbury also wrote, on the 27th of December 1574, to the Privy Council, from Sheffield castle, at the request of the Countess of Lennox, all that he could discover of her behaviour towards Queen Mary, and of the countess's dealing, when she was in those northern parts. Ib. 126-7.

The detection of Cockyn, who had been the instrument of intercourse, between the Scotish Queen, and her ambassador, the Bishop of Ross, disclosed much intelligence, and exposed some of her friends[m]. On such occasions, we must always recur to the imprisonment of the unhappy Queen, without cause, without right, and without law: If she were thus imprisoned, her endeavours, for obtaining her freedom, were necessarily justified by the original wrong, which could not be defended, by any principles of morals, or any maxim of law. Such must be, for ever, the reflections of every considerate mind, on behalf of a captive queen! She was doomed, incidentally, to sustain other miseries. The earthquake, which happened, in February 1575, endangered, and frightened the Scotish Queen, by the sinking of her chamber[n]. But, we may see, in the note below, that Elizabeth's vigilance was still awake, and her jealousy unappeased. Of course the friends of the Scotish Queen found many impediments to their intercourse: Even La Mote Fenelon, the French ambassador, was denied access to her, by Elizabeth's special orders[o]. In this forlorn state, the Queen of Scots found her only consolation, in her religion, to which she adhered, and even professed a wish to restore[p]. Elizabeth, mean-

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[m] In the British Museum, there is the letter, 20th February 1574-5, of Cockyn to Burleigh; begging for his pardon. Calig. C. iv. 249. There are Cockyn's Depositions, about D. Good, the Bishop of Ross, Morgan, and other persons, who were connected with the Queen of Scots. Julius F. vi. 38.

[n] Lodge, ii. 128-9. Shrewsbury's letter to Burghley, of the 3d of March. He thanked Elizabeth for warning him, that she was informed some of his servants conveyed letters, and messages, for the Queen of Scots: He expressed his sorrow, "that Elizabeth should be displeased, at his son Gilbert's wife being brought to "bed, in his house; as causing women, and strangers, to resort there;" yet, he asserted, "that except the midwife, none have, or do come within the Queen's "sight; and to avoid such resort, *he himself, with two of his children, christened the child.*" Id.

[o] Murdin, 288.

[p] Calig. C. v. 66; Ib. c. iii. 485.

time, received nothing, from her oppressed cousin, with any grace, but her presents[q]. Elizabeth's penury seems to have been quite equal to the jealousy of her temper, and the severity of her measures. What ought we to think of a government, wherein the prime minister was afraid to trust his private letters, by the common post. Burghley, himself, detained his private letter to Shrewsbury, about the marriage of his youngest daughter to Shrewsbury's fourth son, a whole week, for a safe bearer: Burghley declined this marriage, for two reasons; the parties were too young; and, chiefly, that it might give rise to jealous suspicions, in the mind of Elizabeth, concerning his connection, with the Scotish Queen[r].

About this time, was changed the French ambassador La Mote Fenelon, for Castelnau de Mouvisiere: And in January 1575-6, this last applied for a passport to send to the Scotish Queen, cloaths, sweetmeats, and letters[s]. Mary, soon after, wrote to the same ambassador, complaining of her bad health; and desiring him, to procure leave, for her treasurer, to come to her, for settling his accounts of her dowry[t]. Secretary Walsingham informed the warden of Mary, in March 1576, the Queen's Majesty was credibly informed, that certain messengers were coming, from Scotland, with letters to Mary; and commanding him "to devise all the best means, to appre-

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[q] Shrewsbury, in his letter to Elizabeth, 24th Septemb. stated, that he had related to his prisoner, how graciously his Queen had received the Scotish Queen's presents: But, had the mortification to learn, from Elizabeth, that she had reduced his allowance, for keeping Queen Mary, from £52. to £30. a week, of which he grievously complained. Lodge, ii. 129-30.

[r] Burghley's letter to Shrewsbury, 24th December 1575, wherein he related the absurd, and extravagant suspicions, which Elizabeth imbibed against him; as having been friendly to the Scotish Queen, on two different occasions of his going to Buxton, in 1573, and 1575. Lodge, ii. 131—3.

[s] Calig. C. v. 61. [t] Ib. 65.

" hend the messengers, and to intercept the letters[u]." Thus watchful were they to distract, and distress, the unfortunate Queen. The Countess of Shrewsbury, who had been employed, as a spy on Mary, and her own husband, but lost Elizabeth's favour, by marrying her daughter, Cavendish, to Lennox, seems now to have been restored to confidence, and to have been again employed, in her former office[v]. Mary, owing to her want of health, from strict confinement, as well as from constant vexation, was allowed, on the solicitation of the French ambassador, to spend the month of June, at Buxton[w]. But, a question arose, before her departure, where she was to be carried. Tutbury was deemed an unfit place, as being unsafe, and defective in provisions; and Elizabeth changed her former orders, and directed Shrewsbury, to carry her back, from Buxton to Sheffield castle[x]. Elizabeth, however, had her disquiet, as Mary had her vexations: News came to court, in August 1576, that some measures were

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[u] Lodge, ii. 139: Walsingham to Shrewsbury, 19th Mar. 1575-6.

[v] Leicester, on the 1st May 1576, wrote to Shrewsbury, in answer to a letter from him, that Elizabeth was pleased the Countess of Shrewsbury should have access, at all times to, and not forbear the company of the Queen of Scots. Ib. 148-9. There remains, in the Paper Office, a declaration on oath of the Countess of Shrewsbury, and her two sons, that they had never spread any reports, contrary to the honour of the Queen of Scots; and that they considered such reports to be scandalous, malicious, and false; particularly, that of the Queen of Scots having had one, or more children, by the Earl of Shrewsbury, the husband of the countess; and that they were neither the authors, nor propagators of such scandalous reports. What profligacy does not this notorious declaration contain, by necessary implication!

[w] There is a letter, from Mary, in the Paper Office, 31st July 1576, to Elizabeth; thanking her, for enlarging the time of her stay, at the baths; and requesting her acceptance of certain articles of apparel, of the newest fashion; and begging to have one of the Queen's dresses, as a pattern.

[x] Walsingham to Shrewsbury, 27th June 1576, in Lodge, ii. 149.

taken in France, in favour of the Scotish Queen:[y] And Gregory XIII. sometimes thought of Mary; and wrote Latin letters, which were sure to be intercepted; professing his zeal, for her desperate cause[z].

But, greater matters were now in contemplation, which disquieted the rival queens. Don John of Austria, with an ambitious mind, and many projects, was induced to dream of conquering England, Scotland, Ireland, the Isle of Man, and the Hebrides; and of marrying the Scotish Queen. The wildest ambition could not go beyond such visionary projects. Even Philip II. began to neglect Don John, as a person, *over ambitious*, and to dislike such impracticable projects. Disregarding the late peace, Don John attacked Zealand, supposing England more easily conquered than it. Meanwhile, the Prince of Orange sent Mons. de Famars to Elizabeth, to acquaint her with those projects, particularly, of Don John's purpose, to marry the Scotish Queen[a]. Elizabeth, on such an occasion, was not wanting to herself: Burghley was desired to consider of *devices;* as to what might be done with the Queen of Scots[b]. It required not the genius of Cecil, to discover, how a frail, and forlorn Queen might be destroyed. Good, and Barty, were, meanwhile, committed, for intelligence, with the same Queen[c]. Shrewsbury soon after reported to Walsingham several points about Mary, and the practices of her friends[d]. In return, Walsingham communicated to Shrewsbury, Elizabeth's

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[y] Calig. C. v. 68.

[z] There is an intercepted letter from Mary, 3d August 1575, at Sheffield, to Doctor Allan, at Doway; expressing her opinion in the tone of despair, as to her freedom, and resignation; and declaring her intention (if ever in her power) to restore the Catholick religion. Calig. C. iii. 485.

[a] Cecil's Diary, 18th Feb. 1576-7.

[b] This paper, in Burghley's hand, remains, in the Brit. Mus. Calig. C. iii. 497.

[c] Cecil's Diary, 25th Mar. 1577.

[d] Calig. C. v. 73; 26th Apr. 1577.

permission, for removing the Queen of Scots to Chatsworth; and Elizabeth's wonder, at Mons. Vergier's long stay with Mary: He was her treasurer, and was, with Mary, to settle his accounts. Elizabeth, however, had some correspondence with Shrewsbury, of a less vexatious sort[e]. This noble wanted words to thank Elizabeth enough, for letters of the 25th of June; and still more, for the comfortable message, which she sent the earl, and countess, by Mr. Julio, an Italian physician[f]. Burghley, again spent July, and August, 1577, at Buxton; being accommodated, with Shrewsbury's house, at that place of fashionable resort. Meanwhile, the Scotish Queen employed herself, in writing letters, which were generally intercepted. She was removed from Sheffield castle to Chatsworth, at the beginning of September. When Burghley, arrived, about the same time, at the court, he found great alarm in the Queen, and council, by news, which had come directly, from France, and the Low Countries, of the Queen of Scots escape, either already made, or very soon to be attempted[g]. In consequence of that alarm, Elizabeth directed Shrews-

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[e] She wrote the Earl, and Countess of Shrewsbury, on the 25th June, 1577; thanking them, in very warm terms, for their kindness, to the Earl of Leicester, who had been received, by the countess, at Chatsworth, where she was living alone, and whose diet was discharged, by them, at Buxton: and who, also, received from them a very rare present; for all which she thanked them, as if done to herself; "reputing him, [Leicester,] as another *ourself*." Elizabeth, moreover, thanked Shrewsbury, and his wife, for their careful looking to their charge. Lodge, 154-5.

[f] Ib. 157: Mr. Lodge remarks, of Julio, that he was then, in great estimation with the people of quality, though infamous for his proficiency, in that branch of medical science, which hath so long distinguished his country. The Earl of Leicester, who was perhaps indebted to him, for services of this kind, was excessively attached to him; and through that nobleman's interference, Archbishop Grindal, who had condemned the marriage of Julio to another man's wife, lost the Queen's favour, for ever. Ib. 157. If we recollect Burghley's *Devices*, and collate them with the information, in this note, we may easily conjecture what the message must have been, which Julio carried to Mary's prison.

[g] Lodge, ii. 163: Burghley writing the above information to Shrewsbury,

bury, " to narrow the confinement of Queen Mary[h]. In this manner, went on Elizabeth, and Burghley, from rumours, and suspicions, to narrow the imprisonment of the unhappy Queen, till they confined her, in her coffin.

The Bishop of Ross seems to have been indefatigable, on the continent, in raising up friends, for his old mistress, though perhaps, his endeavours, by promoting alarms in England, only injured her[i]. Burghley, seems to have collected early, in 1578, many letters to, and from, the Bishop of Ross. From them, it appears, that he corresponded with the Archbishop of Glasgow, Queen Mary, Philip, King of Spain, Cardinal Comensis, and the Archbishop of Treves. There was a list, also, of the Scotish nobility, and clergy; distinguishing the party, to which they belonged. Some matters had been represented on her behalf to the Emperor Rudolph[k]. Soon after arrived, the Count de Retz, a marshal of France, from the French king, to solicit access to the Queen of Scots, and after seeing her, to go into Scotland. On May-day, he had an audience of Elizabeth, who had hitherto denied his request. At that time, there was with the Scotish Queen, an agent, from the Duke of Aremberg, a sovereign prince, in the Netherlands. The Scotish Queen seems to have now been carried back again, from Chatsworth, to Sheffield castle. And from this seat, she com-

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recommended the increase of his vigilance: and, he added, " as I think your lord-" ship hath carried your charge to Chattsworth; so think I that house a very mete " place, for good preservation; having no town of resort, where any ambushes " might be laid, and concealed." Id.

[h] Calig. C. v. 85.

[i] In August 1577, she wrote to Dr. Allan; expressing her great zeal for the Catholick faith. Calig. C. v. 80. She wrote several letters to the Archbishop of Glasgow, at Paris, her resident ambassador. Ib. C. iii. 492. She wrote to Beaton, the archbishop's brother, and her *maitre d'hotel;* desiring information, and recommending great caution. Ib. 490.

[k] Calig. C. v. 102.

plained to Castelnau de Mauvisiere, of the refusal of passports; upon the principle, no doubt, of narrowing her intercourse[l].

In 1578, on the 10th of March, died, Margaret Countess of Lennox, who survived her husband, and her eight children[m]. She had been thrice imprisoned, not for charges of treason, but matters of love: First, when Thomas Howard, the son of Thomas, the first Duke of Norfolk, being in love with her, died in the Tower; (2) when her son, Darnley, married the Queen of Scots; and (3) when her son, Charles, Earl of Lennox, married Elizabeth Cavendish. The venerable countess lived to know, that the murder of her son, Darnley, was altogether owing to the conspiracy of Murray's faction; and knowing that fact, she became quite reconciled to the Queen of Scots, during five, or six years: and had confessed her sorrow, for the unjust pursuits, which she had carried on against Mary, through the orders of Elizabeth[n]. In this year, also, the authority of Morton began to decline, in Scotland, when he was deprived of the Regency; and when Mary's son, at the age of twelve, was admitted to reign, with a council of nobles, to assist him, by turns.

The Queen, hearing in her prison, that her son had, happily, freed himself, from the Ruthven conspiracy, sent her secretary, Naue, to Stirling, in June, with a kind letter, congratulating him on his freedom, sending him some jewels, and

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[l] Calig. C. v. 108, the date is the 8th of October 1578.

[m] Sandford's Gen. Hist. 525-6-7.

[n] See Mary's letter to the Archbishop of Glasgow, 2d May 1578. Keith's App. 145, which quotes Mem. Scots, T. 11, No. 55. There was a warrant [19th Septemb. 1579] from Mary to Thomas Fowler; directing him, as sole executor of the late Countess of Lennox, her mother-in-law, to deliver to the Countess of Shrewsbury all such jewels, as the Countess of Lennox had left, in his charge, in trust, for Lady Arabella Stuart, her grand-child, if she attained the age of 14 years, and if not, then for the use of our only son, the Prince of Scotland. In the Paper Office.

other ornaments: But, as the mother directed her letter to "my loving son, James, Prince of Scotland," the Privy Council would not suffer her letter to be opened, nor the presents to be received[o]. The receiving of his mother's letter, with the tokens of her love, would not have made him less a king, or less a dutiful son.

But, it was an age of crime, and of general suspicion. *Monsieur*, who had been long endeavonring to soften the obdurate heart of Elizabeth, declined to come into England, "unless "pledges were given, for the safety of his person.[p]" This came of Elizabeth carrying her jealousy, and dissimulation to excess, and of her ministers pushing their artifices too far. The Scotish Queen, who was suffering extremely, under the operation of such guilty passions, wrote to the French ambassador, Mauvisiere, disclaiming some charges, which had been made against her, of having treated with France[q].

The Scotish Queen's health began now to be greatly impaired, by her confinement, and vexation: And, in May 1580, she wrote to Elizabeth: complaining heavily of her hard usage; and desiring that she might be allowed to visit Buxton[r]. In the subsequent month, the imprisoned Queen again wrote to Elizabeth; exculpating herself; complaining of her enemies; and desiring *to go to the bath*[s]. Elizabeth, by encouraging too much the whole system of stories, and lies, misrepresentations, and suspicions, not only injured herself, but

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[o] Walsingham's spy, Arrington, wrote him of this, from Berwick, 23d June 1579. Calig. C. iii. 539. Hist. K. Ja. VI. 274; Spottiswoode, 307. Mary's son was now thirteen; and began to feel, that he was a King.

[p] The Archb. of York's letter to Shrewsbury, 14th Octob. 1579: The pledges required were the Earls of Oxford, Shrewsbury, Leicester, with several others of high rank. Lodge, ii. 222.

[q] Calig. C. iii. 535.

[r] The S. Queen dated her letter, from Sheffield, 2d May 1580, *the second year of her imprisonment;* meaning, probably, her strict confinement. Calig. C. vi. 22.

[s] Ib. 49.

carried her rigours against Mary, and Shrewsbury, to extravagant lengths[t]. The Scotish Queen set out, for Buxton, on the 26th of July, and arrived there, on the 28th; though she met with an accident, at setting out; her horse started, when she was in the act of mounting, and the Queen fell, and hurt her back, of which she complained, for some time. But, it was in vain, to use the waters of Buxton, while she was restrained, from taking the air. Shrewsbury, literally, complied with Elizabeth's commands, in restraining all resort to this place; so that she neither saw, nor was seen, by any except her own people: she hath not, he said, come forth of the house, since her coming, nor shall not before her parting[u]. The Scotish Queen was carried back to Sheffield, after awhile; as Elizabeth would not consent, to their residence at Chatsworth[v].

Scotland was disquieted, in 1580, by the outcries, which were raised against the King's favourite, Lennox. The jealousy of Elizabeth fastened on him, as a French spy, who was sent to delude the King. She sent Sir Robert Bowes to

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[t] There is a letter from T. Bawdewyn to Shrewsbury, 1st July 1580; informing him, that Elizabeth is *resolute* against his going to Chatsworth with the Scotish Queen. Lodge, ii. 234-5. Shrewsbury soon after expressed his sorrow to Burghley, that having solicited Elizabeth for leave, to carry the Q. of Scots to Buxton, and Chatsworth, this point should have been so much misliked, by the Queen's majesty: He now complained of Elizabeth's grudging and delaying payment of his allowance, for keeping the Q. of Scots. Ib. 236. He repeated his complaints, on the 26th of July, in a more energetic tone. And, succeeded, at least, in being allowed, to carry the Queen of Scots to Buxton. Ib. 237—39.

[u] Shrewsbury's letter to Burghley of the 9th August 1580. He again lamented his griefs, and considered himself, hardly, dealt with, after twelve years faithful services, that her majesty should grudge, and restrain his allowance, which was already not half sufficient. Lodge, ii. 239-40. Yet, was he not successful. Murdin, 346.

[v] Shrewsbury continued his complaints to Burghley. He again solicited, for leave to reside at Chatsworth, on account of the sickness that had been, in his house, at Sheffield. He lamented, that Elizabeth's distrust should be so great, that she would not allow him the comfort of seeing his children; and that she

Edinburgh, for the purpose of removing Lennox, from the councils, and presence of the King: But, the ambassador's representation was distrusted; and he was desired to show his instructions: Bowes found such a spirit, at Edinburgh, in opposition to Elizabeth's influence, that he returned to Berwick, without effecting his purpose. The King, on his part, sent Alexander Hume to the court of Elizabeth; to excuse what had passed, and to learn what the imminent dangers were, which Bowes had pressed so strongly. Elizabeth refused to see Hume; but, as she suspected, that her influence was on the wane, in Scotland; she referred the Scotish envoy to Burghley, who gave him a lecture on the advantages, that result, from good neighbourhood, and on the many benefits, which would be the effects of subservience to her, whose wisdom bears command. ° Yet, this lecture did not prevent the impeachment, on the 31st of December 1580, of Morton, Elizabeth's agent, in Scotland, for the murder of the late King.

At the beginning of the year 1581, the Scotish Queen seems to have been, chiefly, occupied in forming a commission to the Duke of Guise; appointing him her lieutenant, and plenipotentiary, in a negotiation, between her, and her son. This document, was undoubtedly, intercepted. But, it is not easy to decide, whether it occasioned, an immediate measure, by Elizabeth[w]. Whatever there may be in this, certain it is, that she issued, on the 17th of January 1581, a commission, and instructions, to Lord Shrewsbury, Sir Henry Nevil, and Sir William Pelham, for removing the Scotish Queen, from Sheffield castle, to Ashby-de-la-zouch, in Leicestershire, where Nevil, and Pelham were to take charge of her; and Shrewsbury to repair to court, with the whole of her writings, which

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gave ear to the most unfounded calumnies, which were conveyed to her, by his enemies, of his *allowing the Scotish Queen to be seen.* Lodge, ii. 247.

[w] An original in French, Calig. C. iii. 569-70.

they were directed to seize, by force[x]. From the epoch of Mary's arrival, at Carlisle, to the date of that commission, there was, scarcely, a moment, in which there was not some plot, either feigned, or real, for the freedom of the one Queen, and the disturbance of the other. And it is equally clear, that Elizabeth, constantly thought, that she had every power over Mary's person; while Mary had no power over Elizabeth: And Elizabeth seems to have completely forgotten, that there was not a conspiracy against the Queen of Scots, from the demise of Francis II. to her expulsion, from Scotland, in which Elizabeth was not concerned against Mary: Neither were there a murderer, a traitor, a rebel, who fled, from Scotland, to England, that Elizabeth did not protect. Add to those intimations, that when the wise Lord Burghley, sat down to write formal reasons, to justify the Scotish Queen's imprisonment, he found it too hard a task, for his wisdom, and experience; so that he cast the responsibility of the violence offered her upon inferior agents, who felt the injustice done to themselves, without questioning the rights of their mistress. At this time, Elizabeth, had her envoy Randolph, in Scotland, attempting to raise a rebellion, in order to protect her agent, Morton, one of the most guilty miscreants, on earth. From all those facts, it is apparent, that Elizabeth, and her ministers, considered every thing convenient to themselves, to be consistent with law, and agreeable to morals, without regarding the wrongs of the Queen of Scots. It does not appear, however, that the purpose of appointing those commissioners, were then executed against the persecuted Queen, who still remained, in Shrewsbury's charge, to his great vexation, and her wrong[y]. Elizabeth persevered, in denying that eminent noble

[x] Sadler's St. Pap. ii. 351-5: and all sheriffs, and other officers, were required to be aiding and assisting, to those men, and measures.

[y] Shrewsbury wrote to Elizabeth; complaining of the stoppage of the payment of his allowance, for keeping the Queen of Scots; and beseeching the Queen's

even common justice, which reduced him to the inconvenience of selling his plate[z]. The Queen of Scots complained of the badness of her diet: and Shrewsbury avowed, that his allowance being cut off, he could afford her no better[a].

In the midst of those complaints, and changes, recriminations, and apologies, the Scotish Queen was carried, from Sheffield to Chatsworth. At the beginning of July 1581, she seems to have busied herself, in writing to the archbishop of Glasgow, her ambassador at Paris, concerning the renewment of the ancient confederacy, between Scotland, and France, and about what was of more importance, *her dowry*, which was said to be in the hands of her Secretary Naue[b]. She also wrote to George Douglas, desiring him, to induce her son, openly, to espouse her cause[c]. Thus was she occupied in July 1581; and we might expect, that her occupations would chiefly consist, in trying, by every possible means of regaining her liberty, and her health[d].

Meantime, Elizabeth, and her ministers were much engaged, in deciding, to what prison to remove the Queen of Scots; and in resolving what to decide, finally, with regard to her; but Elizabeth could not be brought to any positive resolution, on subjects, that seemed to derange her intellect[e]. Such were the difficulties, which arose, from acting on wrong principles.

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majesty, that he might not be injured, by any abatement of his allowance. Lodge, ii. 244-5, with the editor's note; reprehending Elizabeth's contradictoriness, and dissimulation. [z] Ib. 250-251-2. [a] Ib. 253.

[b] Calig. C. ix. 1; Ib. vii. 218.

[c] Ib. viii. 313. The Queen's letter, from her son, 17th Aug. 1581; acknowledging the receipt of the letters, from Chatsworth, and expressing his satisfaction, at hearing she enjoyed better health, than she did the last year, was intercepted.

[d] There remains the copy of a letter, from Paris, containing an answer, of some negotiations there, by George Douglas; and copies of letters to him, from the Scotish King, from the Queen of Scots, and from the Earl of Lennox, 9th Septemb. 1581. Ib. vi. 159.

[e] There remains, in the Paper Office, a letter from Burghley to Walsingham, dated, from Windsor, the 10th September 1581, which is curious in itself, and

As the Queen of Scots's anxieties constantly preyed upon her spirit, she was soon taken so ill, as to be obliged to keep her bed. In this sad condition was she visited, by Beal, the clerk of the privy council, who had been sent to Sheffield; to obtain answers, from her, to many questions. She now said to him, that she wished, by all means, to recover Elizabeth's favour, if his mistress would give her an opportunity. She desired earnestly, to have the benefit of the air, sometimes, not that she would be at large; but in order to recover herself, from that weakness of body, which the want of air had brought upon her whole frame. She added, that though she was not old in years [39,] she found herself old, in body; and her hair had turned gray; so that she could never think of another husband[f]. Beal had another conversation with her, a few days after, when Naue, her secretary, was present. She desired Elizabeth to send her some physicians and surgeons, to consult with those attending her, about her distempers, and the cure of them. She talked about the marriage of her son, with

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illustrates the gloomy temperament of Elizabeth's mind: Burghley informed Walsingham, "that the council had been three days deliberating about the Scotish "Queen, but had come to no conclusion; being as variable as the weather: For, "her majesty would come to no determination, on any one point; so they left "off talking, from weariness, and the Queen had postponed all till some future "time. They were long deliberating to what place the Scotish Queen should be "brought, where she, and her cause, might be heard: The *Tower* was rejected: "The council then, unanimously recommended *Hertford castle*, which the Queen "consented to, *for one whole day*, and then changed her mind; saying it was too "near London: Then Fotheringay was mentioned, which she said was too far off: "Then, successively, Grafton, Woodstock, Northampton, Coventry, and Huntingdon, all of which were rejected, either for want of strength, or conveniency. "The Parliament will probably be dissolved, the next day, and a new one summoned, for the 10th of October; but, the Queen wishes the hearing of the "Scotish Queen's cause to be finished before that day; and nothing to be done "till her removal be determined on."

[f] Beal's letter, from Sheffield, 17th Novemb. 1581. Harl. MSS. 290.

the King of Navarre's sister: and she desired Elizabeth would speak to *Monsieur*, who was then in England; that she might have the rents of Senlis paid to her, which estate had been given her, in lieu of the Duchy of Touraine, formerly vested in her, but afterwards given to *him*[g]. Beale had two other conversations with the Queen of Scots, some days after, who was still in bed, but somewhat better. She now wished, for the liberty of sending into Scotland, with the consent of Elizabeth, regarding several matters, which concerned the weal of both realms: But, this was deferred, from an apprehension of treachery. And, Beal had not yet proceeded to the matter, contained, in the second part of his instructions; to show the Scotish Queen her letter, which she had written in cypher, during the northern rebellion, to the Bishop of Glasgow[h]. This last instruction proceeded upon the principle of Elizabeth's letter, on Palm Sunday 1572, wherein she had said, "that the "Queen of Scots's head should never be quiet." Whatever may have been the end of those conversations, particularly, the Queen's promise not to transfer her rights, in Scotland, without Elizabeth's knowledge, every stipulation was made, on certain conditions, though Beal construed them, as absolute: Mary, in her famous letter to Elizabeth, of the 8th of November 1582, desired her good cousin "not to give credit to the sug-"gestions of Beal; I promised nothing, but under certain "conditions, to which I am not bound, except they be per-"formed, by you." This was a very common artifice, in the school of Elizabeth, to regard conditional engagements, as absolute.

Meantime, Elizabeth found what, no doubt, irritated such a temper as hers, that her wisdom, her artifices, and her

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[g] Beale's letter, 23d Novemb. Harl. MSS, 290, fo. 135.

[h] Beale's letter of the 28th Novemb. 1581, from Sheffield, in MSS. Harl. 290, fo. 137.

arms, were unable to save the guilty Morton, from the punishment, that was due to his crimes. She sent Randolph to Edinburgh, to use his accustomed arts. She directed a body of troops, to approach the frontiers of Scotland. Randolph bearded the King, and his council: But, they remained firm. He cajoled the nobles; who were not captivated. He preached to the Estates; laying before them some letters, which were attributed to Lennox; and which Elizabeth's ministers said they had intercepted, though the better opinion was, that they had forged them, for the occasion, of charging him, with promoting the invasion of England[i]. And, Randolph used every artifice, to make an impression, in favour of the guilty Morton, till finding, at length, that he himself was not quite safe, at Edinburgh, this corrupt agent, privately, withdrew to Berwick. On the 1st of June 1581, Morton was convicted, by the assize, of murdering the late king. On the morrow, he was executed, by decapitation, for that heinous offence; as there was no doubt of his guilt, which he indeed acknowledged[k]. The wretch died with falsehood, in his throat. The execution of Morton made a great impression upon Elizabeth; as she felt, that she had thus lost her agent, with her

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[i] Spottiswoode, 312: Those letters were, afterwards, proved to be forgeries; as the historian remarked: Whoever makes use of forged documents must be supposed, to be the forgers of them.

[k] Moyse's Mem. 53-4. On the 29th of November 1581, an act of Parliament passed, confirming the proceedings against Morton. Acta Parl. iii. 227. He made a confession before the clergy, attending him, at his execution, of which there are several editions; but, the best is in the App. to Bannatyne's Journal. He confessed, that Bothwell, and Maitland, came to him, at Whittingham, for the purpose of concerting the King's death, which he never revealed. This is a very important fact; as it avows a conspiracy of nobles, for effecting that wicked deed. It is much to be lamented, that the clergy, attending him, did not perceive the importance of making that guilty character confess, or deny, whether he found, or forged, the boxful of supposititious letters, which the said conspirators attributed to the Queen.

influence, in that kingdom, which she had reduced to dependence, by her artifices. In this manner, died, by a stroke of justice, the last of the great complotters, for the death of Darnley. But, though the Queen of Scots knew nothing of the prosecution, which brought this guilty miscreant to the block; yet, did Elizabeth avenge his fate, with a perversity, peculiar to herself, on her unfortunate captive.

SECTION XVI.

From Morton's Execution, till King James's Escape from Ruthven.

TOWARDS the end of 1581, the Scotish Queen's health seemed past recovery; owing to her want of air, and exercise, and to her continual vexation, and daily woe: So that "nature oppressed, and harassed out with care, almost sunk "down to rest." In the midst of this distress, and that disease, Beal, the clerk of the Privy Council, constantly attended upon her, with enquiries, and questions, from Burghley's suggestion. Even Beal, who was not of a very melting mood, seeing the situation she was in, recommended, "that the re- "straint on her should be relaxed, and that she should be "allowed to have the coach, made for her, by the French "ambassador; but, intimated, that previously to granting any "such indulgence, some acknowledgement of her Majesty's "title should be procured from her, similar to what was "agreed on, by the treaty of Edinburgh, 1560[1]." But, what confirmation did the one queen want, or could the other give? Elizabeth was in possession, with the law on her side, and Mary did not dispute her right. Beal, however, added, in a subsequent letter to Burghley, "that he really knew not what

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[1] Beal's letter to Burghley, 17th Novemb. 1581, in the Paper Office. How unjust! The Scotish Queen did not dispute Elizabeth's title; She had only refused, to enter into a stipulation, that she would not claim the English crown, after Elizabeth's demise, without *legitimate* issue.

" to advise, *she is so wily;* but, she is, certainly, very ill, and " so weak, that she is not able to stand, or to be out of bed; " she is, continually, taking medicines, and using poultices, " and throws up abundance of phlegm[m]." These representations seem to have had some effect; as it was obvious, that a little rigour might have pushed her from the dreary stage. Elizabeth allowed, that the Queen of Scots might take airings, in her carriage, with proper precautions[n].

The meeting of Parliament, in 1582, was connected with the Scotish Queen; as we may recollect, from Burghley's remarkable letter to Walsingham, in September 1581. In it, were enacted new, and more severe laws, against the papists; supposing that avowed persecution was wiser policy, than conciliatory forbearance. But, prejudice was the ruling passion of Elizabeth, of her court, of her people[o]. The Scotish Queen, however, did not allow the meeting of that Parliament, to pass unheeded by her. She sent up " a declaration of her right to " the succession of the crown of England, to be presented to " to Elizabeth, and with her permission, to the lords, and " commons[p]."

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[m] Beal to Burghley, 23d Novemb. 1581, in the Paper Office.

[n] Shrewsbury's letter to Walsingham, 6th Jan. 1581-2, in the Paper Office; assuring him, " He had always taken every means to prevent strangers, from hav- " ing access to her, when she was not out of doors, and would continue to do so: " She had not been out yet; as she was still very weak, but, free from pain." Shrewsbury informed Walsingham, on the 21st Jan. 1581-2, with the sudden death of his daughter Lennox, that morning; and earnestly intreating the Queen's favour to her orphan child, *his grand-daughter, the Lady Arabella Steuart.*

[o] Camden, 272.

[p] Murdin, 366; Calig. C. ix. 78; Cecil's Diary. There is a letter from Doctor Wilson, at court, 31st January 1581-2; wherein he intimates, that he had sent along with it a packet for Queen Mary, from the French ambassador, who told him, that it contained no matter of moment: And Wilson adds, I think, he would, hardly, trust me, with any dangerous matter: *There is no dealing, for succession; being, expressly forbid;* Lodge, ii. 250.

While this attempt was made to terrify the papists, by pains, and penalties, and Mary presented her *declaration,* a fourth negotiation was entered into with the Scotish Queen, under the conduct of the respectable Mildmay: But, it is quite apparent, from the management of so many treaties, that Elizabeth's object was, "to keep the word of promise to her ear, "and break it to her hope[q]."

Shrewsbury, also, was ruined in his temper, in his health, and in his interests, *by hope deferred.* He kept up *a continual claim* upon Elizabeth, for his diminished allowance, and for such a charge, and for the keeping of 40 soldiers, daily, in his house[r]. In a letter to his agent at court, Thomas Bawdewyn, he expresses his anxiety, for his suit: I have been moved, to take into my service Lady Lennox's men; but, specially,

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[q] Strype's Ann. iii. from certain notes, in Burghley's hand: But, the present treaty was suspended upon a *rumour* of *some practices,* in Scotland: And, when it was discovered, that the Duke of Guise intended, against the consent of the King of France, to invade England. But, was this likely? France durst not invade England. In 1583, continues Strype, from some papers of Burghley, Shrewsbury, and Beal, were appointed, by Elizabeth, to deal with the Scotish Queen, in another treaty, with a *promise* to return to her Sir Walter Mildmay, "if she would dis-"cover certain practices against Elizabeth, which Mary pretended to know:" While this treaty was, in hand, adds Strype, *by the Scotish Queen's procurement,* Lennox, and Fernyherst, and Sir James Balfour, were brought into Scotland: And so, the treaty was broken off. All those men came into Scotland, the year before, without the procurement of the Queen; so this pretence was unfounded. In 1584, says Strype, from the same papers, another treaty was entered into with Naue, Mary's secretary; at which time, the practices of Parry were discovered; and so, the treaty ceased: And, thus Burghley inferred, from those premises, that the Scotish Queen never entered into any treaty, but only of purpose to abuse her majesty. If Burghley had said this of the *English Queen,* he had been quite right, as a thousand facts evince. From all those treaties, it appears to have been the design of Elizabeth, and Burghley, to break the heart of the Scotish Queen, *by the deadly poison of hope deferred.*

[r] Lodge, ii. 255-6. Shrewsbury's allowance, at this time was, only £1560. a year, which was paid quarterly.

Nelson, and his wife, but have refused them: "*I have too many* "*spyes in my house already, and mind, to make choice of others,* "*I may trust*[s]."

At the beginning of April 1582, commenced the treaty, with the Scotish Queen, which has been already mentioned, for the odious purpose of deluding the unhappy captive[t]. Mary began now to correspond with her son, as often as her wardens would allow her. On the 16th of April, she wrote him, in French; expressing her affection; and desiring his attention to Elizabeth[u]. The object of the Scotish Queen seems to have been, to confirm to him a legitimate right to the crown, as she had hitherto considered it, to be, merely, supposititious. She seems, to have found means, through France, of engaging Lennox, and Arran, the two favourites of the youthful King, to concur, in this project, to which they saw no strong objection, whatever Elizabeth may have felt[v]. King James certainly wrote to his mother, soon after; expressing his duty, and desiring to hear further from her; though it may have been intercepted[w].

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[s] Ib. 257. We thus see, that Elizabeth's ministers recommended servants to noblemen; in order to convert them into spies: and see Shrewsbury's letter to Burghley, 2d Mar. 1581-2. Ib. 261.

[t] See Beal's *private* letter to Shrewsbury, of the 2d of April 1582, and *an ostensible* letter, from Beal to Shrewsbury, to be shown to the Scotish Queen; in order to induce her to comply with Elizabeth's desires, without committing Elizabeth, by any personal promise, to perform the conditions, on her part. Lodge, ii. 262—72; and see Lodge's notes, 263—7, exposing the baseness, and treachery, of the Queen's majesty.

[u] Calig. C. vii. 1.

[v] There remains, in the Brit. Mus. Calig. C. vii. 7, a letter, from Sir Henry Widrington, 26th May, at Berwick, to Secretary Walsingham; mentioning with other intelligence, from Scotland, "the project of Lennox, and Arran, to make "the King resign the crown to his mother, and then to receive it back, from her." In Mary's famous letter to Elizabeth, of the 8th of Novemb. 1582, she says, "that "not long since, she had determined, to confirm the kingdom to her son, law-"fully."

[w] French letter, 17th June 1582. Calig. C. vii. 12. Being found, in the

Owing to the before-mentioned causes, the Scotish Queen became so bad, that the waters of Buxton were prescribed, when every other remedy had failed. About the middle of June 1582, she was carried to Buxton; "Lord Cumberland, "and the rest of the company being departed[x]." She remained here, till the second week, in July; but, did not enjoy the full benefit of such an excursion, and residence; as she was not allowed to ride, or walk out. When she departed, she took her leave, in this distich; being Cæsar's verses upon Feltria, which were applied, by her, to Buxton:

Buxtona quæ calidæ celebrabere nomine lymphæ,
Fortè mihi posthac non adeunda, vale.

Buxton, whose fame thy baths shall ever tell,
Which I, perhaps, shan't see again, farewell[y].

There soon after ensued a correspondence, between Elizabeth and Mary, in which the former took much amiss, that the Scotish Queen should have also written to the Privy Council. Walsingham was directed to write a querulous letter, on this misunderstanding to Shrewsbury, who mentioned the matter to Mary. The Scotish Queen answered him, with her usual distinctness, and dignity: That she had never conceived, for a moment, that the privy counsellors possessed any part of her dignity, or power; but, being often told, by the French ambassador, as an excuse for not answering her letters, sooner, that they had been referred to the privy council, she had thought it might facilitate the business to write to that body,

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Cotton library, we may conclude, that James's letter to his mother had been intercepted.

[x] Shrewsbury's letter to Burghley, 12th June, 1582. Lodge, ii. 271.

[y] Camden's Brit.: Shrewsbury's letter to Bawdewyn, 12th July, from Sheffield, shows, that the Queen, and her warden, had returned to Sheffield castle. He complained, "that he had spies near about him, and knew them well [his wife per-"haps;] but, if they said truly, I could better endure it." Lodge, ii. 275.

in the first instance. Elizabeth, who had been flattered almost into frenzy, received this exposition with a bad grace: and would not consent, that the Queen-mother should correspond, directly, with her son; as he had shown some want of deference to that domineering sovereign:[z] And, Elizabeth soon made the Scotish King feel, that he must not affect to be independent on her, who did not admit the greatest kings to be her equals.

Elizabeth never forgave, nor forgot, the punishment of Morton, for his crimes, in opposition to her influence, and her power. By her constant intrigues, she maintained an English faction among the Scotish nobles, who were easily persuaded, that whatever conspiracy they might form against James, or his ministers, they would be protected, in England. They wanted not pretences, or inclination, to effect their own designs, and Elizabeth's wishes. The Earl of Mar, Lord Lindsay, Lord Boyd, and other persons of that faction, with Earl Gowry, at their head, took advantage of the absence, from court, of Lennox, and Arran, to invite the King, who was now turned of sixteen, to Ruthven castle, in Perthshire, where they forcibly restrained his person, on the 22d of August 1582; and soon made him feel, that he no longer enjoyed the independence of a king. They not only changed his ministers, and his measures; but, they obliged him, in all things, to submit to their dictates, and to hear, from the church assembly, and the convention of estates, that the acts of their treason were legal, and fit. Elizabeth, hearing of the success of her own suggestions, sent envoys to the King; advising him to take in good part, this *godly enterprize*, and to restore the Earl of Angus, who had been expatriated, in England, since the execution of Morton. The King did not free himself, from this treasonious domination, till the subsequent summer; when he

[z] Lodge, ii. 275—9—77—80-1,

obtained his liberty, by greater efforts of address, and vigour, than he was supposed to possess.

When Mary heard, in her prison, of those events, and of her son's degradation, and danger, she became so dangerously ill, that her English physicians supposed, and said, she would die. She, meantime, recollected, forcibly, her own misfortunes, which she suffered, in the same country, from the same faction. She remembered, keenly, all the miseries, which she had so long endured, in the prisons of Elizabeth: And feeling, with the sensibilities of a mother, the sufferings of her son, her cares, her agitations, and her anguish, were mitigated, only, by her frequent tears, and final resolution, to communicate her wrongs, and her sufferings, to Elizabeth, in a letter, which displayed, at once, her acuteness, and ability, her dignified spirit, and intrepid temperament:[a] She sent it, by Mauvisiere, to the Queen's Majesty. Mary may have received some consolation, from a letter, which the Duchess of Guise, wrote her, on the 28th of October; acquainting her, that the King of France had sent Mons. de La Motte to England, and Scotland:[b] And from another letter, on 29th of October, from the Queen-mother, which expressed her kindness[c]. Mary had now the consolation of seeing, that the French court, seriously, interested themselves in her affairs: And their great object was to induce the

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[a] The above letter, which was dated the 8th of November, not the 28th, of 1582, as Whitaker, mistakingly, supposed, has been published by him, with the original, in French. Vindication, iii. App. No. xvii. It was abstracted by Camden; and was afterwards translated, from the French to the English, and from the English to the French. This letter, says Whitaker, shows Elizabeth to us, as we had seen her before, but with additional evidence, mean, tyrannical, insidious, and savage. Ib. 625. The original letter, in French, is in Calig. C. vii. 51. This letter is referred to, by Lodge, ii. 267—77; and which he says well deserves the attention of those, who would obtain a clear knowledge of Mary's true character, and of Elizabeth's detestable conduct towards her, in the last years of her imprisonment.

[b] Calig. C. vii. 49. [c] Ib. 50.

Scotish King, to receive his mother, as an associate, in his government: But, when the French ambassador arrived, in Scotland, he found the King a sort of prisoner, in the hands of Gowry, and his treasonous associates.

Mary's letter to Elizabeth made a great sensation, which was so unexpected, in its matter, and so able in its manner. Various measures were proposed to be taken upon it, both rigorous, and moderate:[d] But, whatever might be the wisdom and energy of Elizabeth's ministers, they could not answer, satisfactorily, the Queen of Scots's letter: For, the original wrong of her imprisonment could not be defended, by any principles. The continuation of that wrong, for more than a dozen of dreary years, was only an aggravation of an unjustifiable outrage.

After all those preparations, Elizabeth endeavoured, to free herself, from the disquietude, which the letter of Mary created, by sending Beal, the usual messenger, on such occasions, a man, uncivil in his manners, to expostulate, sharply, with the Scotish Queen, for her letters of complaint. He was entrusted with a further commission. He was joined with Shrewsbury, to negotiate with the imprisoned Queen, about her enlargement. But, this treaty, like all former ones, was merely intended to raise hopes, which were not gratified.

La Motte, the French ambassador, who arrived in London, during October, was chiefly instructed, to endeavour to obtain

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[d] Walsingham wrote to Burleigh, 16th Novemb. 1582; advising rigorous proceedings, in consequence of Mary's letter. Calig. C. vii. 60. Henry Kyllygrew wrote to Burleigh, 18th Novemb. 1582, the purport of his two messages to the Q. of Scots, on the birth of her son, and the death of her husband. Ib. 62. In the same depository, there are extracts of the Queen of Scots' grievances, and the answers made to the same. Ib. 136; and Julius F. vi. 30. The Scotish Queen, on her side, wrote, on the 3d of Decemb. 1582, from Sheffield, to Mons. de Mauvisiere, concerning her late application to Elizabeth; and desiring him, to confer, about it, with Mons. De la Motte. Calig. vii. 64.

the association of the Scotish Queen, in the government, with her son. He was amused, during several months, while the ministers endeavoured, to obtain the secret of his commission. It was, at length, resolved to allow him to go into Scotland, on condition, that Davison should accompany him, and associate himself with Elizabeth's minister, Bowes, at Edinburgh. Such were the jealousy, and artifices of the English court. Mons. de La Motte, on the 21st of December, wrote to the Scotish Queen; notifying his mission to her son[e].

The French ambassador, on his road to Scotland, met Lenoir, near Northallerton, about the 30th of December; when they enlightened each other, on the wretched state of that country. De La Motte, and Davison, the spy, upon him, soon after arrived, at Edinburgh; and had a public audience of the King, before the English ambassador. There were now so many eyes fixed upon de La Motte, and so much secret service money, in distribution, that the secret of this embassy was discovered before it was communicated to the King, on the 20th of January 1582-3[f]. When Elizabeth, at length, learned this secret, her indignation knew no bounds, that any other person, than herself, should practise the accomplishment of dissimulation. She wrote to Bowes, and Davison, on the 29th of January; commanding them to advertise the Scotish King, that since La Motte had been sent into Scotland, with another commission, than what he pretended; that as he has, since his arrival there, presumed to give the King such advice, as if he (a stranger) were to direct the polity of that realm; and as the King has declared, that in all important affairs,

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[e] Calig. C. vii. 66.

[f] On the 29th of January 1582-3, William Fowler, who then acted, as a spy of Walsingham, sent the secretary intelligence of the secret of De la Motte's mission, which amounted to this: The association of the King, and his mother, in the government of Scotland. Calig. C. vii. 78. The English ambassadors, Bowes, and Davison, also, discovered this secret. Ib. 80.

he will steer himself, by her advice; she counsels the King, to dispatch La Motte, from thence, as soon as may be, and promises him further assistance, upon all occasions[g]. The King was now scarcely fifteen; and he was in the hands of a treasonous faction, consisting chiefly of the old plotters against his mother. De La Motte, though he was disappointed, in his chief object, was civilly treated; and left Edinburgh, on his return, on the 10th of February 1583: the other French ambassador Mons. Mazenville, remained, at Edinburgh, as resident minister. About the same time, Bowes, and Davison, reported to Walsingham their negotiations, and their endeavours, to counteract de La Motte[h]. Soon after, Elizabeth, and her ministers, took into consideration the whole negotiation;[i] and seem to have felicitated themselves, that they had prevailed, in their negotiations at Edinburgh; and disappointed the hopes of the Scotish Queen.

But, they could not so easily answer Mary's energetic letter

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[g] Harl. MSS. 291, fo. 44; and there is another copy of that characteristic epistle, in No. 6986, same MSS. fo. 22: It seems to be a copy of the same letter, written with an erroneous date, of *the 13th of January*, which is printed in Murdin, 372—4. This epistle is sufficiently arrogant, and abundantly inimical to the Scotish Queen. There is, also, a letter, from Secretary Walsingham, of the same date, to the same ambassadors; requiring them to charge the King of Scots, and Mons. La Motte, about the overture, for associating his mother with him, according to the tenor of the Queen's letter, which they might have better done of themselves, *but for fear of discovering those Scots, who revealed that important secret to them.* Walsingham expressed his fears of the French gaining their ends, in Scotland, by the force of money, which he finds her majesty loth to distribute there. Harl. MSS. 291, fo. 83.

[h] Calig. C. vii. 85. There was another letter, from them, on the 18th of February, on the same subjects. Ib. 91.

[i] Ib. 96—98: And there was a letter from Secretary Walsingham of the 27th of February to Bowes and Davison; acquainting them what had passed, between Elizabeth, and La Motte, *after his return from Scotland;* when the Queen seems to have rather outdone the ambassador, in his own art.

of grievances, which Mauvisiere, pressed upon them, in April 1583. But, in order to amuse the injured Queen, negotiation, after negotiation, ensued, till the 17th of June, when Mildmay wrote to Burghley, "that he left the Queen of Scots, with "some difficulty to believe, that the treaty would proceed to-"wards a match for her, when she had passed forty-one.[k]" It was much more easy, for Elizabeth, to prompt her guilty faction, in Scotand, to raise a violent outcry against the association of Mary, with her son, in his government. James VI, young as he was, freed himself, on the 28th of January 1583, from the thraldom of Elizabeth's faction, which had endured, since his insidious capture, at Ruthven castle, on the 23d of August 1582. The Earl of Gowry was pardoned, by the King's clemency, or weakness: But, continuing his traitorous practices, he was arrested, at Dundee; and being tried, for his treasons, and found guilty, he was executed, as in cases of high treason, aggravated, as his case was, by a thousand crimes, and a thousand pardons[l]. To this miscreant was traced the boxful of supposititious papers, which Morton swore he had found, though they were, certainly, forged, by the skilful hand of Secretary Maitland. But, whether they went, from Gowry has not yet been discovered. This wretched noble was the son of that Lord Ruthven, who stabbed Rizzio, in the Queen's closet; and soon after died of a consumption, in England:

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[k] Harley MSS. No. 6993, Art. 25.

[l] Spottiswoode, 325—32. That wretched noble was concerned in the assassination of Rizzio, as master of Ruthven; and after finding shelter, in England, was pardoned by Mary, as one of Morton's associates: He afterwards went into the insurrection, with the same Morton, which dethroned Mary. He was one of her wardens, in Lochleven castle. He came, with Lord Lindsay, to the coronation of James, when he swore, contrary to the fact, that she had resigned her crown, voluntarily: He was created Earl of Gowry, in August 1581; and being the principal actor, in the capture of James, was, however, pardoned by him: And going again into similar courses of treason, he was executed, at Stirling, on the 4th of May 1584.

The same character was the father of that Earl Gowry, who, having been restored, by King James, to his estate, and honours, attempted in August 1600, within Gowry-house, in Perth, to assassinate the same King; but was slain, in the very act, by Sir John Ramsey. Of this last Gowry, whose estate was annexed to the crown, and his surname of Ruthven abolished, by Parliament, we may say with MILTON,

> "——— ——— Man disobeying,
> Disloyal breaks his fealty; and sins
> Against the high supremacy of heaven:
> *To expiate his treason hath nought left.*"

SECTION XVII.

From King James's Escape from Ruthven, till Mary's Removal to Tutbury.

THE Scotish Queen's celebrated letter of the 8th of November 1582, made some impression on the court of Elizabeth, as a representation of grievances. And, what was deemed an answer was sent to her, in the beginning of the year 1583. But, the chief complaint, Why do you detain me, in prison? was not answered, and could not be satisfactorily answered.

On the former policy of amusing, deluding, or entrapping the captive Queen, Beal was again sent to Sheffield, at the beginning of April 1583. He had long interviews with her: But, what advice to give, this able man knew not, "between "the craftiness of the Scotish Queen, and the *irresolution*, and "*suspicion*, of her majesty." In the course of the conversation, the Scotish Queen remarked to Beal, "that her ma- "jesty was now growing old, as well as herself;[m] and it was "time the succession should be fixed; and if her majesty "would grant her liberty, she would solemnly pledge herself, "that neither she, nor her son, would, by faction, or inva- "sion, set up any claim to the crown, but would leave the "whole to be arranged, by Parliament. She utterly denied "having any participation in plots, or knowledge of them: "She demanded her liberty, but not absolutely; as she was

[m] Elizabeth was 50; and Mary 41.

" willing to continue in her majesty's custody, in a house " of her own, with a nobleman to attend her; and she would " give any security, or enter into any obligation, for her " good conduct." The Queen, in continuance, said, her " only object now in life was to be reconciled to her majesty; " that the chief of the Scotish nobility, Lindsay, Gowry, " Lochleven, Mar, and Angus, were not to be trusted:" She added, " she knew her son was too cunning to declare " himself openly, but she doubted not his affection for herself, " however much he might dissemble." At this period,[n] Beal reported the Queen to be much better in health, since her majesty sent the physicians down; " she is able, to go up, and " down, though she still complains of her legs, and hips, and " is getting rather bloated[o].

The long conversations of Beal, with the Queen of Scots, ended in a treaty with her, on the loose intimations, which were then thrown out. The Queen complained, that Beal took, *absolutely*, what she had said, *conditionally* Mildmay was now joined to Shrewsbury, as negotiators with the Scotish Queen; Beal being conjoined, to give them advice, and assistance. The month of May 1583, saw this treaty begin, and end, like all former ones. Elizabeth thought fit, to suspend the treaty, till she sent an envoy to King James, to explain the matter to him[p]. The Scotish Queen objected to this separate communication; and upon the advice of Mildmay the Queen was also allowed to send a minister to Scotland.[q] But, the whole ended in delusion; as nothing was, seriously, intended, from the beginning, but poisonous amusement to the Scotish

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[n] April 1583.

[o] Beal's letters to Walsingham, in the Paper Office, April 1583.

[p] Elizabeth's letter to Shrewsbury, and Mildmay, 10th June 1583, in the Paper Office.

[q] Walsingham kept up a constant correspondence with Bowes, Elizabeth's envoy at Edinburgh, on the subject of this treaty. Calig. C. vii. 183.

Queen. This fresh disappointment threw the unhappy Queen into a new fit of despondency,[r] which lasted, during the later part of 1583. Her letters, during this period, were generally intercepted[s]. The French court were, at length restrained, from interesting themselves, on her behalf, *for fear of prejudice to her person*[t]. At this period, Elizabeth entertained a strong desire, which she did not affect, of removing the great object of her solicitude to Milborn castle[u]. Had the Queen of England removed Mary, from her kingdom, Elizabeth had saved the Scotish Queen much misery, and her own fame, from eternal disgrace: But, Elizabeth appears to have retained Mary, in prison, for no other object, than the daily pleasure of tormenting a hated rival.

While Scotland was disturbed, by various factions, and a weak government, England was equally disturbed, by the absurd endeavours of Throkmorton, to serve the Scotish Queen. He was suspected, by means of a letter, which he wrote to that Queen; and which was easily intercepted. Throkmorton was scarcely committed to the Tower, when Lord Paget, and Charles Arundel, fled, privately, to France; as at home, they could hope for no safety. They vented their discontents, in this manner: That Elizabeth, without any fault of theirs, was alienated from them, by the subtile artifices of Leicester, and Walsingham; that they were unworthily disgraced: that strange tricks were invented, and practised, and secret snares laid for them; so that they were thereby involved in treason, before they were aware. Whatever there may be, in those complaints, we, certainly, know, that a se-

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[r] Calig. ix. 46. [s] Calig. vii.—ix.

[t] Murdin, 385. Sir Ed. Stafford's letter to Burghley, 15th Decemb. 1583. Yet, on the 20th of the same month, the French King wrote a letter to the Scotish Queen; as a tribute of his recollection.

[u] Sadler's St. Pap. ii. 355—62.

vere act of Parliament had been recently passed against the Roman Catholicks, which was severely executed;[v] and we, moreover, know, that persecution will create resistance, and the spirit of resistance will beget privy conspiracy, and rebellion.

Let us now hear the fact, from Camden: "Verily," says he, "there were, at this time, some subtle ways taken, to try "how men stood affected. Counterfeit letters were, privily, "sent, *in the name of the Queen of Scots*, and the fugitives, "and left, in papist's houses: Spies were sent up, and down, "the country, to take notice of people's discourse: Reporters "of vain and idle stories were admitted, and credited. Here-"upon, many were brought into suspicion; and amongst the "rest Henry, earl of Northumberland, was restrained: And "his son, the Earl of Arundel was confined, to his own house, "and his wife committed to custody. William Howard, the "earl's brother, and Henry Howard, their uncle, the late Duke "of Norfolk's brother, were several times examined, *about let-"ters from the Queen of Scots*, and from Charles Paget, and "one Mope; whose prudence, and innocence, could hardly "protect them[w]." Elizabeth demanded the English fugitives to be removed from France: But, the King refused; as Eliza-

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[v] Camden, 295. A book was about that time published, inciting the Queen's women to treat Elizabeth, as Judith had acted, with applause, against Holofernes. The author was unknown; but, Carter, the bookseller, was executed. Elizabeth commanded seventy priests to be transported. Id.

[w] Id. In addition to those facts, we must recollect, that when Randolph was sent to Scotland, in 1581, to protect the greatest of criminals, Morton, the English envoy, produced some letters before the Estates; in order to show, that the Duke of Lennox had written such letters, to solicit France, to invade that country; which had been intercepted, as he pretended; but, which were, afterwards, found to be forgeries. Who forged those letters of Lennox? Elizabeth's ministers. When any government goes so far into such artifices, and impostures, it ought to be distrusted; and, hardly, believed, when such ministers do speak the truth.

beth had received French refugees, and Scotish traitors: Elizabeth ordered Mendoza, the Spanish ambassador, to retire from England: And the King of Spain would not see Waad, her envoy[x]. Lord Henry Howard was, on the 11th of December 1583, examined by Lord Hunsden, concerning some intelligence, which he was suspected to have had with the Queen of Scots[y]. The Scotish Queen's correspondence, meantime, both with Scotland, and France, was continually, intercepted; as we know, from the documents, in the Cotton library.

Such was the state of England, and the affairs of Mary, at the end of 1583. The subsequent year opened with an application of the Scotish Queen to Elizabeth; complaining of not having received answers to her letters; and soliciting a better treatment. The Scotish Queen soon after wrote to Burghley; requesting his intercession with Elizabeth, on her behalf. Yet, Mary's wardens continued to intercept letters, and couriers, which were addressed to the captive Queen[z].

Under such circumstances, Elizabeth had recourse to an old artifice, with regard to the Scotish Queen, by proposing a fresh treaty with the imprisoned Queen: But, fears, and jealousies, says Camden, broke off the treaty; and he might have added, that fears and jealousies, had broken off all such treaties before, which were only proposed, by dissimulation, for the purpose of deceipt[a].

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[x] Camden, 297-8.

[y] Calig. vii. 260.

[z] Calig. B. viii. 329; Ib. B. iv. 278; Sadler's Stat. Pap. ii. 375—8.

[a] There remains, moreover, a letter of the 23d of March 1583-4, from Shrewsbury to Elizabeth; giving her an account of this treaty, and of the Scotish Queen's conversation: "She said, she did not know what was passing in Scotland; that "she had never directed her son; or invited rebellion against her majesty; "and had never any dealings, with Throkmorton, about matters of religion." Shrewsbury insinuating to Mary, that this new treaty was proposed, by her, "*to "lull her majesty into security,*" she exclaimed, *she knew who were the luller, and the lulled; and referred both to the judgment of God.* Shrewsbury concluded, by requesting permission to repair to court, to convince Elizabeth, in the

At length, Elizabeth resolved to gratify Shrewsbury, by relieving him from the custody of the Queen of Scots; appointing as her wardens Sir Ralph Sadler, and Sir Henry Nevil[b]. Shrewsbury was now happy; but, Sadler, at his time of life, felt that a burden had been imposed on him, which his health, and spirits could not bear.

It is easy to perceive, that Elizabeth's government, at home, and abroad, by artifices, and deception, would raise up against her many enemies, to say nothing of those, who, in pitying the hard fate of the Scotish Queen, detested the oppression of a guilty government. From all those causes, danger was now supposed to be at hand. And Leicester, to retain his influence, with his queen, took the lead, in proposing an universal association, "by mutual vows, subscriptions, and seals," *to prosecute to death*, as far as their power extended, all those, who should attempt any thing against the Queen's Majesty[c].

The Scotish Queen was too clear sighted, not to perceive, that her destruction was aimed at, by that association; and being worn out with misery, and fearing severer treatment, she sent Naue, her secretary, to Elizabeth, with an offer to join the association; to enter into a treaty of amity, on her own terms; and to give the French King, and the princes of the house of Lorraine, for the faithful performance of her covenants.

Such were the offers, which were reported to Elizabeth, by

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face of his adversaries, of the falsehood, and treachery of the reports against him. The original dispatch is in the Paper Office.

[b] Elizabeth announced this change, in her letter to Shrewsbury of the 1st of April 1584: And she adds, "as the Scotish Queen might consider, that this removal might occasion more hard usage than she had received heretofore, she was to be informed, that her majesty had no such intention; though the Scotish Queen well knew, she deserved it, if she were dealt with, as she deserved." The original of this epistle, coarse, and vulgar, as it is, remains in the Paper Office.

[c] Camden, 300.

Waad, who accompanied Mons. Maron to Mary, who came to settle her claims, in France. Shrewsbury, and Beal, were, in consequence, appointed, in May 1584, to enter into treaty with the Scotish Queen. But, if we may believe these negotiators, the captive Queen was now either unable, or unwilling, to enter into treaty, on the terms, which she had offered to Waad. Elizabeth, who had broken off so many treaties, on very slight pretences, was now indignant, that the Queen of Scots should have seen cause to decline what she had formerly offered. And Burghley was employed to write considerations, concerning the various matters, arising out of the Scotish Queen's offers to Shrewsbury, and Beal,[d] while Elizabeth was carrying on her usual intrigues, at Edinburgh[e].

These negotiations, and intrigues, led on to the demission of Shrewsbury, and the appointment of Sadler, as the warden of Mary, with Somer for his assistant, in August 1584. Sir Ralph, though appointed, for a particular emergency, continued, in his uneasy charge, for eight months, from August 1584 to April 1585: But, he was so disgusted, by Elizabeth's penury, and so harassed, by her jealousy that, losing all patience, he besought Burghley, and Walsingham, in the bowels of Jesus Christ, to relieve him; as he would rather be a prisoner for life, in the Tower, than continue, in so disgustful a service. He arrived at Sheffield, on the 25th of August; and Shrewsbury informed him, that in pursuance of Elizabeth's orders, he had resolved to remove the Scotish Queen, from Sheffield to Wingfield, on the 27th of the same month. She was accordingly removed, on the 2d of September, after a long sojourn at Sheffield, though Sadler would have rather retained the captive Queen with *sixty soldiers*, at Sheffield, than three hundred, at Wingfield; on account of the strength of the former place, and the openness of the latter. The Scotish Queen

[d] Calig. C. viii. 59.

[e] Ib. C. viii. 54—57.

was not much pleased, that she had been removed, without some notification, from Elizabeth herself: She was now safely lodged, and guarded, "by forty stout soldiers;" with the aid of eighty persons of Shrewsbury's household. On the road, the Queen asked Somer, if he thought she would escape if she could. Somer said, he thought she would: as it was natural to seek liberty, when confined: No: said she, you are deceived; I would rather die, in this captivity, with honour, than run away, with shame. Somer replied, he should be sorry to see her put to the trial. The Queen then said, it was her wish, if Elizabeth would give her liberty, to go to Scotland, to see her son, and give him good advice, but she never would reside; permanently, there, where she had been so ill treated; but, would go, and end her days, in France, and never trouble herself with politics, or marriage[f].

The captive Queen was now very anxious to be permitted to send a special messenger to her majesty, with new propositions: But, Elizabeth would not receive Naue, the Queen's secretary, as she desired nothing so much, as a reconciliation; and to effect it, offered herself as a mediator between her son, and the Scotish noblemen, with whom he was at variance: And she solemnly denied the least knowledge, or connection, with Crichton, the jesuit, who had recently been apprehended[g].

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[f] Sadler's letter, 4th September 1584, to Walsingham, in the Paper Office.

[g] The same to the same, 19th, 21st September, in the Paper Office; and Camden, 299. The last treaty with Mary was broken off, chiefly, by the discovery of papers, which Crichton, a Scotish jesuit, being taken, by a Netherland pirate, had torn in pieces, and cast into the sea; yet, the wind, by a miracle, (and, as we learn from LEAR, nothing almost sees miracles but misery) were blown back into the vessel, were pieced together, discovered new designs of the Pope, of the Spaniards, and the Guises, "for invading England." Id. But, is not this one of the idle stories, which Camden says, were then admittted, and credited? Who would believe such a story as this, which was admitted, to be quite miraculous. See, however, Calig. ix. 101.

Walsingham, however, avowed to Sadler, that he could not draw Elizabeth to any resolution, on the Scotish Queen's request of sending her secretary, Naue, to court; adding withal, Somer knoweth that, "*we* [Elizabeth] *are long, in our reso-* "*lution here, especially, in matters subject to jealousy,* which "humour doth daily increase," [on Elizabeth[h].] Shrewsbury was graciously received, by Elizabeth, who was very desirous to compound the controversies between him, and his wife, a matter, that was not performed very easily. Shrewsbury daily made suit, to be discharged of the custody of the Queen of Scots[i]. Walsingham soon after informed Sadler, that Elizabeth deferred her resolution, about allowing the Scotish Queen, to send up Naue; but desired him to entertain the captive Queen with hopes, of her desire being granted. Elizabeth designed, on the 8th of October, to have a full consultation of her council, about the course to be held with Queen Mary; as Shrewsbury earnestly pressed Elizabeth, for his discharge[k].

Walsingham, moreover, intimated to Sadler, that Elizabeth seeing, by intercepted letters,[l] that the Queen of Scots was very anxious to understand her majesty's resolution, in respect to the change of her warden, the secretary directed Sadler to hold a vigilant eye over his charge. Sadler was also required to send up Loggin, one of Shrewsbury's men, to be examined; and to pump one Hawkesworth, a gentleman, living near Sheffield, who was much disliked, by the Scotish Queen. Baldwin, Shrewsbury's agent, was arrested; as he held a secret intelligence with the captive Queen: And Elizabeth desired Sadler to have a watchful eye over Queen Mary: And that the servants, who attend him, should be furnished with *daggers*, and *petronels*[m].

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[h] Sadler's St. Pap. ii. 399—401. [i] Id. [k] Ib. 408-9.

[l] From Curle, one of the Queen's secretaries. Sadler's Pap. ii. 402-3—10-11—411-12.

Sadler, on the 8th of October, answered Walsingham's directions. He had drawn, from the Queen, his charge, her feelings, as to the change of her keeper; she weighed not the change, so as she be well used, *and her person in safety*, whereof she had some cause of mistrust, in former times. He intimated the improbability of her attempting to escape; considering the extraordinary precautions, and *her tenderness of body, subject to a vehement rheum, upon any cold, which causeth a plentiful distillation, from above, down to her left foot, which is much pained, and sometimes a little swolen.* He explained the strength of the place, and the extraordinary pains taken, to prevent any possibility of escape. He gave a detail of the gentlemen living around the castle, and were ready to assist. Besides the establishment of the castle, Sadler had with him forty-three men of his own servants, every one armed with sword, and dagger, some with pistols, and some with long shot. Sadler recommended *entering into a treaty, and ending the matter, with the Queen of Scots, by an honourable composition.* Sadler thought that a trial ought to be made of an amicable arrangement; as she earnestly protests, that it is her sincere wish, to serve her Majesty, if permitted[n]. The Queen amidst her other grievances complained to the ministers of France, that she had been wronged in her dowry[o].

After all those recommendations of liberality, and reconcilement, Elizabeth summoned a Parliament, which was chiefly intended, to disable such as pretended a title to the crown, and endeavoured to disturb her possession. Walsingham, while he gave this information to Sadler, delivered it, as his decided opinion, *for listening to the offers of the Scotish Queen, and making a treaty with her: The impediment arose chiefly*

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[n] This interesting letter is in the Paper Office; and see Sadler's St. Pap. ii. 412—16.

[o] Calig. C. viii. 118.

through a jealous conceipt, that either of the two princesses hath of the other, which, I see, he adds, *will hardly be removed*[p].

Meantime, were entered into associations, for the preservation of Elizabeth's person; and one of these was ordered, by the Queen's Majesty, to be shown to the Scotish Queen, with directions, to watch her countenance, and speech: But, without any change of either, she offered to sign it, though we learn not, that her signature was much coveted.

The Scotish Queen, about the same time, was involved, in the saddest spirits, by a woman of very ill conditions. Sadler wrote to Walsingham: Queen Mary is marvellously grieved, with the Countess of Shrewsbury, for the foul slanders of late raised upon her, by the said countess: and the Queen trusts, that Elizabeth will suffer her, to have justice; and that the countess may be forced, either to prove, or deny what she hath said, and done: She can charge the said countess, with many other things[q]. But, as the countess had long been the spy of Elizabeth, there is reason to believe, that the Queen's Majesty liked the slander too well, to punish, with severity, the noble tale bearer.

Elizabeth, however, at length, resolved to allow Mary, to send up to court Naue, her secretary: But, Sadler was directed, what shows her extreme jealousy, "to send some trusty per-"son with Naue, to watch, and oversee him, and prevent him "from speaking to any person:" and he was desired to deal with Curle, and Mary, about the letter written, by Curle, under the name of Welbeck, to Baldwin[r]. Walsingham moved Eli-

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[p] Sadler's Pap. ii. 420-1.

[q] Sadler's St. Pap. ii. 421-2. There was, at the same time, a proposal made, about preparing Tutbury castle, for Mary's residence: But, this preparation was directed to be made, secretly, without her knowledge.

[r] Sadler's Papers, 28th Octob. 1534, ii. 425-7. There was no security provided, however, to prevent Walsingham, from gaining Naue, to reveal the secrets

zabeth, in vain, to relieve the aged Sadler, from this invidious task, according to her promise: But, he intimated, as her excuse, *Elizabeth's want of resolution*[s]. Were we to enumerate the Queen's Majesty's *wants*, she would appear, we may suspect, to have few possessions of a moral nature, to boast of, as her virtuous qualities.

As early as the 3d of November 1584, it was, finally, resolved by Elizabeth's government, to remove Mary to Tutbury: And Cave, one of the Cofferer's clerks, was sent, with £500, in his pocket, to make provision, at Tutbury castle, for Mary's reception. But, to make a dilapidated castle fit, for the reception of a Queen, was not an easy task, with three times £500. Lord St. John, the proposed warden, in the room of the impatient Sadler, hesitated, and delayed, for some weeks; and even at the beginning of the subsequent year, declined to accept such a charge[t].

Meantime appeared at the court of London, as envoy from James, the notorious master of Gray, a young man of slight, and profligate qualities. There is a letter, from him to the Queen of Scots; wherein he resents his being injured by her, if a letter shown to her son, were hers: He yet advises her how to proceed with Elizabeth, and relates what advice he had given to the King, his master[u]. On this subject, the Queen opened herself to Sadler. She said this young gentleman was a creature of the Archbishop of Glasgow's, and has been educated among the Jesuits, who seek to serve their turn, by him,

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of his mistress, though the secretary of Mary was sworn well, and truly, to keep her secrets.

[s] Ib. 428-9.

[t] There is a letter, from Burghley to Sadler, 5th Jan. 1584-5; giving an account of Lord St. John's having flatly refused to take charge of the Scotish Queen; Elizabeth threatened to make an example of him: St. John fearing her wrath, reluctantly consented to accept this charge: But, the Queen's Majesty would not now allow him to go. Sad. St. Pap. ii. 477-8.

[u] MSS. Harl. 290, fol. 146, dated 22d Novemb. 584.

about her son. She professed, that she had her son bound to her devotion, by his own writing, as Naue would shew the Queen's Majesty: She asserted, that her son had oft sent to her for money, to buy clothes, for himself, and apparel, for his pages, and lackeys, which she caused to be furnished, from her revenues out of France, when she could ill spare it: He obtained lately 6000 crowns from the Duke of Guise, whereof she thinks this gentleman has had the greater part, to set him forth, in so good a show:[v] She added, it was by her means, that he was sent upon this embassy, upon his earnest promises, by his letters, to treat, and deal for her, if she would procure her son to employ him, and to endeavour to speak to her first on his journey; but, now he takes another course, and seems to deal, for her son, without her[w].

At the end of November 1584, Elizabeth's ministers were chiefly occupied with the negotiation of Naue, and the Scotish ambassador. Naue desired that his mistress might not be removed till his return; and Elizabeth assented to this: But, the principal difficulty was to obtain, at Wingfield, provisions, and other necessaries, at Elizabeth's expense. And these additional charges, Walsingham supposed *would greatly hasten the treaty;* so penurious had Elizabeth become. Naue had much private negotiation with the Queen's Majesty, concerning Lady Shrewsbury. On the 25th of November, he had conference with some of the council, to whom he made three requests; that the treaty might go forward with his mistress; that she might not be removed till the treaty were finished, at least till his return;[x] that *Lady Shrewsbury, and her two sons* might openly confess before the French ambassador, himself, and some of the council, the untruth of those imputations, that had been cast upon his mistress, which touch her life, and honour. Yet, little, or nothing was effected, by his endeavours; as this negotiation,

[v] Ib. 466—8. [w] Id.

[x] Naue returned to Wingfield, on the 29th of December 1584.

like all former ones, was, prematurely, closed, by Elizabeth's jealousies[y].

The failure of this treaty for her liberation almost broke the heart of Mary. But, when she heard, that there was to be a great change, both, in the place of her residence, and the person of her warden, she was thrown into despair. Sadler, after stating his own age, and infirmities, and inabilities, to Elizabeth, submitted somewhat regarding the Queen of Scots: I find her, said he, much altered from that she was, when I was first acquainted with her. This restraint of liberty, with the grief of mind, which she hath had, by the same, hath wrought some good effect in her temperament. She is not yet able, to strain her left foot to the ground, and to her very great grief, not without tears, findeth that being wasted, and shrunk of its natural measure, and shorter, than the other, she feareth, that it will hardly return to its natural state, without the benefit of hot baths[z].

Sadler, and the Queen, his charge, seem to have been driven, from Wingfield, at the beginning of 1584-5, by the want of provisions, and other necessaries. Burghley communicated to Sadler Elizabeth's wishes, that Mary were removed to Tutbury, and to have both the numbers of her attendants, and their charges, diminished[a]. The Scotish Queen sent her answer to certain points, which had not been cleared, by Naue, at his coming from court. She now consented to be removed to Tutbury, though she was yet lame, and unable to walk alone. Sadler appointed the 13th of January to leave Wingfield, and

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[y] In the Cotton library, there is a brief note of all the treaties, that have passed, for the Scotish Queen's enlargement; with the several causes, why they took no effect, from a paper, in Burghley's hand. Calig. C. viii. f. 166.

[z] Such was the captive Queen's unhappy state, at the end of the year 1584; as stated by Sadler to Elizabeth, and Walsingham. Sadler's State Pap. ii. 460—2—4—6.

[a] Burghley's letter of the 5th January 1584—5.

to be, at Tutbury, on the morrow;[b] the ways being so foul, and deep, and *she so lame,* though *in good health of body,* that they could not go through, in a day; "myself, also," said Sadler, "being more unable than she is, to travel, as I "have not been well, this month, and more[c]." Upon Thursday, the 14th, they came to Tutbury, with the Scotish Queen, all well.

In cold weather, said Sadler, we found a cold house, very badly furnished: They wanted tapestry, curtains, beds, blankets, sheets, and other furniture. The Queen's people complained, and Sadler endeavoured to quiet them, and promised to get supplies: But, he added, "fair words, and promises, "will not keep folk warm long. Queen Mary," said he, "is "now in a very good state, for health, and began to go about "her chamber, with some help, her foot being yet swoln, and "weak." She earnestly desired to know, if Elizabeth liked, and accepted of her consent, to join in the *English association;* and whether the letter to her son, which she had transmitted, for the Queen's majesty's perusal, had been sent to him.

Elizabeth's jealousy was far from being pleased with the detail of the journey. To her dislike, that the number of gentlemen attending seemed to make a shew of fear, Sadler answered, "that the gentlemen came only with their servants, "and the Queen showed no appearance of dislike, but be-"haved courteously: At Derby, and more amply, at the end "of the journey, when the gentlemen were departing, Mary "expressed her thanks to Elizabeth, for the honour shewn "to her, by appointing such grave, and wise gentlemen of "reputation, to accompany her, in this journey, and gave "great thanks to them all." The Queen's majesty was displeased, that he should have lodged the Queen in Derby-

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[b] Sadler's Pap. ii. 477-8-9—80.

[c] Sadler to Burghley, 13th January 1584-5.

town, on their way, to which Sadler answered, "it could not "possibly be avoided; as he ascertained before, by sending "persons of judgment, to survey the country, and to see, if "any other road passable, by coach, and carriage, could, be "found, but they could find no other, that was passable, and "besides, there was no gentleman's house to lodge her at, "during the night; even the road by Derby was bad enough, "at that season of the year, and he was obliged, to cause "bridges to be made to get over some bad passages. And as "to the information of a great personage, delivered to him, "by some officious officer, that this Queen was offered to "salute, and kiss a multitude of the townswomen of Derby, "and of the speeches she was said to have made to them; I "do assert, and Mr. Somer will be sworn, if need be: I going "before the Queen, and he next behind her, yea, before all "the gentlemen, on purpose, saving one, that carried up her "gown, that her entertainment was this: In the little hall "was the good wife, being an ancient widow, named Mrs. "Beaumont, with four other women, her neighbours; as "soon as Queen Mary knew, who was her hostess, after she "had made her curtesy to the rest of the women, standing "next to the door, the Queen went to the hostess, and kissed "her, and none other; saying that she was come thither to "trouble her, and that she was also a widow, and therefore "trusted, that they should agree well enough together, hav-"ing no husbands to trouble them; and so went into the "parlour upon the same low floor, and no stranger with her, "but the good wife, and her sister."[d]

[d] Sadler's St. Pap. ii. 501—4-5.

SECTION XVIII.

From Mary's Removal to Tutbury, till her Removal to Fotheringay.

THE Queen of Scots arrived at Tutbury, at the middle of January, 1584-5, after her good-humoured treatment of the women of Derby, and the absurd jealousies of Elizabeth. As this ancient fabrick belonged to the crown, Elizabeth, when Lord Paget emigrated, seized his house of Beaudesert, in Staffordshire, sold part of the furniture, and directed that the remainder should be sent to Tutbury, when it was proposed, to remove the Scotish Queen, from Wingfield to that royal castle. But, so great a pile was yet far from furnished. Elizabeth, in the true practice of her usual penury, endeavoured to beg, and borrow, bed, and table linen, and other articles of household furniture, from the neighbouring gentlemen, who could not lend, what they wished to use themselves. Mary complained to Elizabeth of her wants; her people complained to Sadler, and he to Burghley, and Walsingham. The French ambassador interposed, on behalf of the Scotish Queen. Elizabeth feeling, now, that her vulgar penuriousness was exposed to the wide, and disdainful eyes of France, "felt *her honour* touched," and threatened those, with punishment, who ought to have furnished such an expansive castle, with an outlay of £500.[c] Elizabeth, who had squabbled

[c] There remains a letter, from Elizabeth to Sadler, 18th July 1584-5, directing punishment to be inflicted on the offending parties, answerable to their demerits. Sadler's Pap. ii. 514.

with Shrewsbury, during a dozen years, about ends of candles, now disputed with Burghley, and Sadler, about the yearly allowance of the Scotish Queen. Elizabeth insisted, that it should not exceed £1500. Burghley, in communicating this to Sadler, intimated his opinion, that it was impossible to be done, allowing for 100 persons. Sadler concurred in this judgment; saying, from his experience, it could hardly be done, honourably, for £3000. a year: And, he added, I see no remedy, meantime, if this Queen is to be kept, in this sort, but the Queen's majesty *must abide this brunt of charge*[d]. After a conference with Mary's officers, he sent a written detail of Mary's annual expenses, to Burghley, for Elizabeth's satisfaction: "Wherein the Scotish Queen herself rebated somewhat from her officers' demands, *like a frugal housewife; saying, that she will have nothing superfluous:*" She only desired that a certain resolution might be settled, in that behalf, not to be altered upon any change of governor[e].

The Scotish Queen did not feel herself very comfortable, in her new residence, even after the establishment had been settled, with abundant altercation. The dampness of the house brought back her old pains, in her side, and hips; and she kept her bed, for a week, at the beginning of February 1584-5. It added considerably to her disquiet, when she heard, through the French ambassador, that Sir Amias Paulet was appointed her warden, whom she had heard of, when ambassador, in France; while she claimed, that none under the degree of a lord ought fitly to be appointed the governor of the castle, wherein she resided[f]. In the meantime, the Scotish Queen pressed, to be admitted into the association, for the safety of Elizabeth's person. And the negotiation was continued, and a treaty made

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[d] Stat. Pap. ii. 495. [e] Ib. 501.

[f] Somer to Walsingham, 18th Feb. 1584-5, in the Paper Office. The instructions to Sir Amias were dated on the 4th of March thereafter.

with Mary's son, without her participation; a circumstance this, which added not a little to the misery of her wretched health; as it showed her too plainly how much she was disregarded, by Elizabeth, and discountenanced by her ministers, who, even then, were preparing criminal charges against Mary, while they pretended to negotiate with her.

The Queen's majesty still continued her pitiful practice of spies, who never told her the truth. She had heard that Sadler had allowed Mary to go a hawking. Sadler wrote to Walsingham the real fact: When he came to Tutbury, finding the country suitable, for the sport of hawking, *which he had always delighted in,* he sent home, for his hawks, and falconers, " wherewith, *to pass this miserable life, which I lead here;*" and when they came, he used them sometimes not far from the castle; whereof, this Queen having, earnestly, entreated me, that she might go abroad with me, to see my hawks fly, *a pastime, indeed, which she hath singular delight in:* And I thinking, it could not be ill taken, assented to her desire; and so hath she been abroad, with me, three, or four times, hawking upon the river here [the *Dove,*] sometimes a mile, sometimes two miles, but not passed three miles, when she was farthest from the castle: And he added, that she was guarded, by forty, or fifty of his own servants, and others on horseback, some armed with pistols, which he knew to be a sufficient guard against any sudden attempt, that could be made, for her escape. In this, he concludes, he used his discretion, and he thought he did well; but, since it is not well taken, I would to God, that some other had the charge, who would use it with more discretion than I can; for I assure you, I am so weary of it, that if it were not more, for that I would do nothing, that should offend her majesty, than for fear of any punishment, I would come home, and yield myself to be a prisoner, in *the Tower,* all the days of my life, rather than I would attend any longer here, upon this charge: And

if I had known, when I came from home, I should have tarried here so long, contrary to all the promises, which were made to me, I would have refused, as others do, and have yielded to any punishment, rather than I would have accepted of this charge; for a greater punishment cannot be ministered unto me, than to force me to remain here, in this sort; as it appears, *things well meant, by him, are not well taken.*[g]

Elizabeth was reasonably well satisfied with Sir Ralph's apology: But, the *dangerous* and *doubtful state of the times*, and in particular, the great power, and influence, of the Guises, in France, require, that his charge should be very narrowly watched, said Walsingham to Sadler[h]. And these pretences were stated very gravely, by Walsingham, as if there were any sense in them. Elizabeth consented, that the Scotish Queen might send a servant to her son, who shall be accompanied, by one of the Queen's Majesty's servants. Mary, disliking the terms of Elizabeth's permission, declined to send a servant into Scotland. The great effort now was to keep the Scotish Queen, from private intelligences, which was supposed not to be easily done. Sir Ralph's indulgence to Mary, obtained, what his entreaties had tried, in vain, the arrival of Sir Amias Paulet, as the Queen's warden, on the 17th of April 1585; who was to introduce new restrictions, during those *dangerous* and *doubtful times:* He soon had his first interview with

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[g] St. Pap. ii. 539; the original is in the Pap. Office. Somer confirmed Sir Ralph's statement; adding how grievously he took the Queen's majesty's conceit of him. Somer denies, that Sadler allowed the Scotish Queen more liberty than Shrewsbury allowed her. When she went a hawking, with Sir Ralph, she was always attended by a strong guard, well mounted, and armed, and she had only four men, and two gentlewomen with her; and her majesty may be assured, "that "if any danger had been offered, or doubt suspected, this Queen's body should "first have tasted of the gall." In the Pap. Office. We thus see, that Elizabeth's officers arrogated the power of life, and death, over the Queen of Scots, in a summary way. Who gave this power even to Elizabeth herself, appears not.

[h] Dispatch in the Paper Office, 29th March 1585.

the Queen of Scots, who seemed displeased, with him, as she had heard, that he was unfriendly to her; but, she soon became more contented with her situation, and more satisfied with her new warden. Sir Amias directed, that all her letters should pass through his hands, to which she agreed: and he directed her servants not to convey any letters, or messages, unknown to him. But, his rigours were soon complained of; and her people became clamourous, when they saw, that the Queen's coachman could not exercise his horses, without having some of the warden's servants with him; when they beheld, "the cloth of estate," in the great chamber removed; Sir Amias being of opinion, that there ought to be but one cloth of estate, in England: But, he did not reflect, that by this measure, he, in some measure, degraded Mary, from her dignity of Queen[i].

The Scotish Queen was soon after taken ill; and was for some time confined to her chamber, during a course of medicine: But, getting better, she sent for Sir Amias; and told him, "that she was much hurt, her Majesty had never once "wrote, or enquired after her, during her confinement; adding, "she was determined to give up all hope of favour, from her "Majesty; as it was evident, she was, only, kept, to serve a "turn, when any new accident required it:" The Scotish Queen also complained much of her being forbidden to distribute alms to the poor people, in the neighbourhood, as formerly[k].

Elizabeth, early in 1585, with a view to the ultimate fate of Mary, endeavoured to strengthen herself, at home, and abroad.

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[i] Yet, there still remained a small cloth of estate, in the room, where the Queen dined, and supped. This cloth of estate represented, by letters, the names of the Queen's father, and mother, with the arms of Scotland, in the middle, quartered with the arms of Lorraine.

[k] Paulet's letters to Walsingham, 27th April, 2d May, 10th June 1585, in the Paper Office.

She sent the order of the garter to the French King. She endeavoured to obtain a confederacy with the princes of Germany. And she tried, with some succes, to draw King James into a league offensive, and defensive, which might operate against his mother[l].

The association, which was formerly, begun, by Leicester, was now adopted, by Parliament: And, an act was passed against such, as should attempt to hurt the Queen's person, for, or by whomsoever employed, that may make claim to the crown; while a mode was, thereby, established, for trying such delinquent persons. It did not require any penetration to see, that those several measures were, specially, pointed, at the Scotish Queen[m], though it is not, by any means certain, that the Scotish Queen had any adequate knowledge of that statute.

Irritated by the death of Sir Francis Russel, on the Scotish borders, in one of those hasty scuffles, which were so natural, to the place, and parties, Elizabeth sent home the Scotish refugees; supplying them with money; in order to expel Arran, the Scotish King's favourite minister. The King was at length obliged to take those refugees into his favour: And James was now enabled to enter into a league with Elizabeth, the author of this change[n].

Meanwhile, the consideration, with regard to the Scotish Queen, came before the Parliament: It was very easy, considering the nature of the proofs, which were generally, brought against that unfortunate personage, rumours and reports, counterfeit letters, and decyphered dispatches, to establish a belief, that she was the cause of the dangerous conspiracies, which Spain, and the Pope, as well as others, entertained against Elizabeth, and her kingdom: And, it was therefore moved,

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[l] Camden, 305—12. [m] Ib. 309: Strype, ii. 293—95-6. [n] Ib. 314-15.

that she ought "to be taken off[o]." A discourse was at the same time published, to prove *the lawfulness* of putting her to death[p]. Such were the unjustifiable means, which were then taken, to familiarize the people of England, to the odious purpose of *taking off* the Scotish Queen, by whatever means. She was now aware, from the measures taking against her, that her fate was finally determined on: so that her life was drawing to a close: We may easily suppose, therefore, that the Scotish Queen would now receive the orders of Elizabeth, from Paulet, with a mixture of indignation, and contempt.

Meantime, neither she, nor her family, were easy in Tutbury, which, after every representation, was not made comfortable; and in September 1585, Chartley, a house of Lord Essex, was viewed, in order to ascertain, whether it was fit, for Mary's prison. Elizabeth refused to allow Mons. Cherelles, and the Countess of Athol, to reside with her: and partly owing to such denial, and to her infirmities, her temper changed, from placid, to severe. Her letters to France were now ordered to be sent to Walsingham, for conveyance, or interception. She received this direction with displeasure, not to say indignation: She exclaimed, "that she would not be "separated, from her union with the King of France, who was "her ally; and she could see, plainly, that her destruction was "sought, and that her life would be taken, from her, and then

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[o] Strype, ii. 299.

[p] Id. The discourse above-mentioned was thus detailed: A sovereign prince, acknowledging no superior, in distress at home, fleeth to the kingdom of his confederate, being likewise a sovereign prince; and is, by him, *received into protection:* [But, this was not the fact, as to Mary] yet, kept in safe custody, as having afore been a competitor of that kingdom [neither was Mary a competitor, during Elizabeth's life] where he practised, by open fact, against the life of that prince. [Nor, was this true, as to Mary:] Now; may not such a practiser be put to death? Id.

" it would be said, that she had died of sickness; but, when " she was at the lowest, her heart was greatest: and being " prepared for extremity, she would provoke her enemies to " do their worst[q]."

At this period, the Scotish Queen's indisposition, and the infirmity of her legs, which was become desperate, and hopeless of recovery, was deemed a great advantage to her keeper, said Paulet to Walsingham[r]. Paulet endeavoured to persuade the Queen, to remain during the winter, in Tutbury; but she was passionately desirous to remove to Chartley. Paulet acknowledged, that she, certainly, was in great pain, from the return of her complaint; having at this time, three defluxions; in her shoulder, in her arm; and in her heel[s]." In the midst of such wretched health, the Scotish Queen continued to be very solicitous, for her removal to Chartley; thinking that change of place, and air, might relieve her infirmities. Paulet, from his journeys, in looking after houses, was taken with the gout, which usually afflicted him, in the autumn: But, he comforted himself, that the Scotish Queen was, also, confined to her bed[t]. Paulet, who seems to have felt, only, for himself, resolved to remove the Queen, and her family, on Tuesday before Christmas-day. For this object, he summoned the principal gentlemen of the shire, to attend, with their retainers, for their journey, which he suspected would be troublesome, from the quantity of baggage, which the Scotish Queen, and her attendants had, " in apparel, books, and like trash[u]." Sir Amias seems always studious, to avow the severity of his character. They, accordingly, removed to Chartley, on the eve of Christmas 1585; but, from the Queen's infirmities, and

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[q] Paulet to Walsingham, 23d Septemb. 1585, in the Pap. Office.

[r] Id.

[s] Paulet to Walsingham, 15th Octob. 1585, in the Pap. Office.

[t] Paulet to Walsingham, 17th Novemb. 1585, in the Pap. Office.

[u] Paulet to Walsingham, 6th Decemb. 1585, in the Pap. Office.

shocking prospects, they were far from happy, and not even comfortable.

Throughout January 1586, the Queen enjoyed somewhat better health; she could use her feet, but not without halting: And the defluxion had fallen into one of her hands. Even this state of convalescence did not last long[v]. Since his last account, Paulet represented the Scotish Queen, as being much worse; sleeping little, and eating less; the humours flying about her, and are now in many places, at once[w]. She continued very ill, with pains in her limbs, and could not turn, in her bed, without help, and was in excessive pain. Last year, said Paulet to Walsingham, when she came to Tutbury, she complained, that her bed was stained, and ill flavoured, and Mr. Somer, to accommodate her, gave her his own bed, which was only a plain ordinary feather bed; and now by her long laying in it, the feathers came through the tick, and its hardness caused her great pain; she begged to have a down bed; and Sir Amias said he could not, in honesty, and charity, refuse to mention her request to Walsingham, and desires it may be sent for her[x]. The Scotish Queen still continued very ill; and on the 17th of February was taken with a defluxion in the side; in so dangerous a manner, that her recovery was despaired of: But she is now a little better, said Paulet to Walsingham[y]. Such was the deplorable condition, to which was reduced a Queen, who had been the admiration of civilized Europe, by eighteen years imprisonment of a cousin, a neighbour Queen, whose guilty passions, without right, and without feeling, had doomed to a life of misery.

Without adopting the charity of such a steeled warden as

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[v] Paulet to Walsingham, 26th Jan. 1585-6, in the Pap. Office.

[w] In his letter of the 30th Jan. 1585-6, to Walsingham, in the Pap. Office.

[x] In his letter of the 2d of Feb. 1586, in the Pap. Office.

[y] In his letter of the 19th Feb. 1585-6, in the Pap. Office.

Paulet, Elizabeth pursued, steadily, at the beginning of 1586, her recent policy of attaching to her Scotland, in a lasting amity with England; in order to cut off all hope, not only from foreign enemies, but even of assistance from her son, in favour of the Queen of Scots: For, according to Camden, Elizabeth suspected, that Mary, being vexed, by the rejection of her conditions, which she had offered to her good cousin, by Naue; and apprehensive of the effects of Leicester's association, as well as, of her removal to Tutbury, might harbour the most dangerous designs: It was even supposed, that the Jesuits, and refugees, might give her very unfit, yet different counsels. Owing to those suspicions, and causes, Elizabeth entered into stricter ties, with the Scotish King, to whom she agreed to allow an annual subsidy; and to give him a verbal assurance, that his title to the crown should not be injured. Under those profligate reasonings, James was, induced, by Randolph, to enter into that treaty, whatever Courcellis, the French ambassador, could suggest to the contrary[z].

Meanwhile, there seem to have been some dangerous projects entertained, by one Ballard, and other Jesuits, against Elizabeth's safety. About Whitsunday 1586, he appears to have drawn Babington into their concert, traitorous, as it was, in them, and dangerous as it was to Elizabeth: Yet, she brought this danger upon herself, whatever it were, by the violence of her persecutions. Babington seems to have grafted upon that design the project of an invasion, in order to effect their purpose against Elizabeth, and to deliver Mary, from thraldom.

The Scotish Queen, without knowing, as it should seem, the extent, and object, of all those concerts, wrote in cypher, to Babington; blaming him, for his long silence; and desiring him, to send her a packet of letters, which the secretary of the

[z] Camden, 331—36. [a] Ib. 337-8.

French ambassador had delivered to him. Babington sent the letters; excused himself, for his silence; and intimated the concert, into which he had entered with so many plotters, for her release, and Elizabeth's tragedy. The Scotish Queen is said to have written on the 27th of July, in answer to Babington, in this manner: She commended his attachment to the catholic faith, and to her interests; yet, she advised him, to act circumspectly: That the avowed pretence of all there designs should be their apprehension of the puritans; that there ought to be no rising, unless they were assured of foreign aid; that Arundel, and his brothers, Northumberland, and other eminent men, ought to be drawn into their concert; that there ought to be a disturbance, in Ireland, while their plot was exploded, in England. To obtain her relief, the attempt was said to be thus laid down: either by overthrowing a cart, in the gate, or setting fire to the stables, or intercepting her, as she rode out, for recreation: And, lastly, Babington was commanded, as it was said, to pass his word to the other gentlemen, concerning their reward, for their respective services[b].

The genuineness of this letter was suspected, at the time,

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[b] Ib. 338. It was forgotten, in all these projects, for Mary's relief, that she was no longer young, and active; that she was *a cripple,* and could not walk, without help. Even on the 3d of June 1586, Paulet informed Walsingham: "The "Scotish Queen is getting a little strength, and has been out, in her coach; and "is sometimes carried, in a chair, to one of the adjoining ponds, to see the diver- "sion of duck-hunting; but, she is not able to go [walk] without support, on "each side." Dispatch, in the Paper Office. Yet, in a supposed letter of the Queen to Morgan, dated the 27th of July, Mary is made to say: "She is not yet "brought so low [in her health] but that I am able to handle my cross-bow, for "killing a deer, and to gallop after the hounds on horseback, as this afternoon I "intend to do, within the limits of this park, and could otherwhere, if it were per- "mitted." This letter the Queen of Scots could not have written. It is in the Cotton library, and is printed, in Murdin, 534. It was plainly one of the many forgeries, in which Walsingham so much delighted, at that period.

both for its matter, and manner The Queen denied it: Yet, did her secretaries, when they were privately examined, seem to have proved a correspondence, between the Queen, and Babington, though not in her own hand; but from her dictation to Naue, who wrote in French, what was translated, by Curl, her other secretary. The sincerity of their confessions, however, was suspected; as we learn, from Camden;[c] and the Queen insisted, that as her secretaries had taken an oath of fidelity to her, when they swore contrary to that previous oath, they were not entitled to credit. It is, also, certain, that Walsingham was too busy, with his counterplots, and his spies, with his counterfeit letters, and his intercepted epistles, to be entirely credited, even when he did speak the truth[d].

This secretary, however, had the merit of discovering the whole plot of Babington, and his complotters. They were taken, and examined; they were convicted and punished, as traitors deserved. Yet, all this while, were the Scotish Queen, and her servants, kept so closely, by Paulet, that she was quite ignorant of those events, though they were known, in every part of England. But, as soon as those conspirators were arrested, Sir Thomas Gorges was sent, to give her a brief relation of the whole; which he, purposely, communicated, just as she had taken horse, to ride out: Neither was she permitted to return, from her ride, to the castle; but, was led about, under the pretence of doing her honour, from one gentleman's house to another, in that neighbourhood[e]. Mean-

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[c] Camden's Elizabeth, 346.

[d] There remains in the Cotton lib. Calig. C. ix. 458-9. *the voluntary confession* of Thomas Harrison, avowing himself to be the secretary of Sir F. Walsingham; charging Secretary Walsingham, Philips, his decypherer, Maude, &c. with having contrived the conspiracy, for which the Queen of Scots had been put to death. Whatever there may be in this, there were certainly much unfairness, and illegality, in collecting, and producing the evidence against the Queen of Scots.

[e] The above representation, which has passed into history, is not supported, by

time, certain commissioners, under Elizabeth's special authority, committed Naue, and Curl, the Scotish Queen's secretaries, to several keepers; that they might have no communication with each other, or their mistress. They also broke into the closet of the unfortunate queen, and seized her cabinet, and papers, which were sealed up, and sent to court. Paulet, as he was commanded, took possession of her money; lest *she should use it, for corruption*[f]. Her cabinets being searched, in the presence of Elizabeth, there were found many letters, from persons, beyond the sea, as also copies of letters written, in answer, and about sixty indexes, or tables of private cyphers, and characters: There were, moreover, discovered letters, from some English noblemen to her, full of expressions of respect, and attachment to her, which Elizabeth read in silence, according to her motto, *video et taceo;* I see, and am silent. But, those nobles, hearing that the Scotish Queen's papers had been perused, by Elizabeth, from that time, acted as mortal enemies to Mary; in order to conceal their own shame, and to blunt Elizabeth's anger[g].

The conspirators being executed, and a general indignation raised against the Scotish Queen, Naue, and Curl, her two

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the State Papers. The fact appears to be, from Paulet's letters, that the Queen was removed, on the 8th of August 1586, to Tixhall, from Chartley, when Elizabeth's commissaries were expected there, to arrest her secretaries, and to seize her papers. Waad, and Alley, Elizabeth's two commissioners, for seizing the Scotish Queen's papers, conveyed to Paulet the *verbal* instructions of Walsingham, which Paulet promised, with the grace of God, duly, to obey. Paulet's letters to Walsingham, 3d and 8th Aug. 1586, in the Paper Office. *Verbal instructions* were, plainly, such as could not be avowed.

[f] Paulet to Walsingham, 10th Septemb. 1586, in the Cotton library. Calig. C. ix. 293; says that he had seized Mary's money; and dispersed her servants. Elizabeth, and her ministers, used *no corruption* against the Scotish Queen!

[g] Camden, 343-4. Paulet afterwards found, in Naue's room, a casket, with a small sum of money, and all the Queen of Scots' *seals*, which are in great number, to serve for private packets, and all other purposes, said Paulet to Walsingham. Letter, 15th Septemb. 1586, in the Paper Office.

secretaries were examined. They acknowledged what they subscribed, that the letters sent to Babington, by their mistress, was in their hand writing, as they were dictated, by her, in French, to Naue, and translated, by Curl, and then cast into cyphers. Neither did they deny but that she had received letters, from Babington, and wrote the answer, which has been stated. Whether these secretaries were bribed, to confess this, saith Camden, I cannot say: But, it is certain, he adds, that Walsingham had made them promises:[h] And, their credit was impeached, by the Scotish Queen; as they had taken a previous oath of fidelity to her[i]. In fair discussion, those, who are in the constant habit of artifice, must always be supposed, to be acting according to their principle: From the accession of Elizabeth to the present moment, her whole conduct to the Scotish Queen had been a continued act of wrong, and injustice, and deceit: The State Papers of her reign evince the fact. Her ministers, particularly, Burghley and Walsingham, constantly, acted upon the immoral principles, that every thing *convenient* was *lawful;* that the *end* justified the *means*: The *Cabala,* and *Digges's ambassador,* are the records of their guilt.

As soon as Chartley had been sufficiently searched, by Waad, and the other commissioners, Paulet resolved, to carry his charge again to that castle. He had not spoken with *that lady,* since their arrival at Tixhall, and did not intend to speak to

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[h] Camden, 345. There remains, in the Cotton lib. Calig. C. ix. 294, a letter from Walsingham to Curl, Mary's secretary, about *a favour demanded.*

[i] Shortly after Sir Ed. Wotton was sent to France; to inform the King of the whole of those proceedings; and to show him *copies* of the Scotish Queen's letters, and of others, which were attested, by *the depositions of certain noblemen of England, to justify the truth of the whole.* Camden, 345. This last fact evinces, that Elizabeth's ministers themselves doubted their own proofs, as unworthy of credit, at the French court: Moreover, this is one of the odious artifices, which those ministers, had long played off, in France, to calumniate the Scotish Queen.

her. She had not stirred out of her room, or gallery; her attendants had no access to her; and they were prevented, from having pen, ink, and paper[k]. On the 30th of August, he carried back the spoliated Queen to Chartley; as she left Tixhall, she said to the poor people, who were assembled about the door: "I have nothing for you; I am a beggar, as well "as you; all is taken from me." When she came up to the gentlemen, she said, weeping: "Good gentlemen, I am not privy to any thing intended against the Queen." When she arrived at Chartly, she refused to take the keys; and desired Mr. Darrel to open the doors of her coffers, and when she saw, that all her papers were taken away, she said, with indignation, "there were two things, which they could not take "away; her English blood; and her Catholick religion[l]." At this period, Fotheringay castle, in Northamptonshire, was fixed on, by Elizabeth, as the future residence of the Scotish Queen; where she is to remain a prisoner, with some regard to her degree, and quality. The Queen arrived, at Fotheringay, on the 25th of September 1586[m].

What should be done with the Scotish Queen, the privy counsellors differed in their opinions. Some said, that no new rigorous courses should be taken with her; as she was not the author of the mischief, but an accessory to it. Others proposed, that for the preservation of religion, she ought to be put to death, under the law. Leicester thought rather, by poison; and sent privately a divine to Walsingham, to satisfy him, that it was lawful; as if a divine could make obvious wrong to be just, from a reference to the occasion, or to scripture. But Walsingham protested against any violence of that

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[k] Paulet to Walsingham, 22d August 1586, in the Paper Office: Paulet no longer speaks of his charge, *as Queen*, but as *that lady*.

[l] Paulet to Walsingham, 27th August, in the Paper Office.

[m] Paulet to Walsingham, 25th Septemb, 1586, in the Paper Office.

sort; and added, that he had counteracted the Earl of Morton's advice, that she ought to be put to death on the conterminous borders[n]. The privy counsellors now differed, as to what law, she ought to be proceeded against, in a formal manner: Whether on the statute of treasons [25 Ed. iii.] or by the late act of the 27th of Elizabeth, which was made, for this special occasion: And, this last opinion prevailed; as being most appropriate to such a case, and most suitable to such a personage.

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[n] Ib. 346.

SECTION XIX.

From Mary's Removal to Fotheringay, till her Death.

THE Scotish Queen entered the fatal castle of Fotheringay, on the 25th of September 1586, as we have seen. She was already treated, as a criminal; while she only knew, that her secretaries had been arrested, and her most confidential papers carried away, by Elizabeth's orders, for the guilty purpose of establishing obvious wrong.

The Scotish Queen had, scarcely, arrived, at Fotheringay, when Elizabeth wrote her a letter, which shows, at once, her coarse vulgarity, and domineering temper: She supposed the Scotish Queen, to be void of all conscience, in denying her privity, with the late attempts, notwithstanding the clearest proofs; informing her, that she had appointed commissioners, to charge her, personally, with her guilty conduct, and requiring her, to answer their charges. But, the two Queens acted upon quite different principles: Elizabeth thought of nothing, but her own state, and person: Mary felt, that she had been eighteen years a prisoner to her cousin's criminal passions, without right, and without a cause. As to Elizabeth's proofs, they might have been confuted. Mary's guilt consisted, in continued endeavours to free herself, from a long imprisonment, which, from its commencement, was indefensible, even by Cecil's ability: And being thus unjustifiable, Elizabeth acted wrong, and Mary acted right. Elizabeth, by inflicting such an imprisonment, avowed her hostility to Mary;

while Mary, by that hostility, acquired a right to act with equal hostility against Elizabeth. When Mary denied her privity to any attempt on Elizabeth, she might act thus, without any bad faith, or illegitimate meaning. Even when Elizabeth brought her proofs, in a formal manner, against Mary, there were many, who refused their assent, on account of the artifices, and knavery of those, who produced them. That forgeries had been committed, by Elizabeth's instruments; and that Mary's letters were forged, cannot well be doubted; as we have already seen.

Sir Walter Mildmay, Sir Amias Paulet, and one Barker, a notary, on the 6th of October 1586, delivered Elizabeth's letter to the Scotish Queen. When she had read this communication from Elizabeth, Mary said: She was sorry, that the Queen's Majesty should be so ill informed against her, after all her offers of reconciliation, and service; that she would not prejudice her rank, and state, as a Queen, in which she was born, to answer as a subject, as she was commanded, or set so prejudicial a precedent to foreign princes; that she was ignorant of the English laws, and knew not who are her peers; that her papers had been taken from her, and nobody dares speak on her behalf: And she finally protested her innocence; and remitted her cause to the judgement of foreign princes. In the afternoon, however, she was asked, by Paulet, and Barker, if she would acknowledge her answers, which she confirmed, with this addition, that she denied, her ever being under the protection of the English laws, as stated in the Queen's letter; but, on the contrary, had been detained, as a prisoner, ever since her arrival, in England. The Queen thus strengthened her answer, by an argument, which converted almost the whole charges against her into mere sophistry. If the protection, which the law affords, infers obedience, in return; what obedience is due,

where there is no protection given! When the case of the Scotish Queen was, accurately, stated, it formed an anomaly, which was quite unprecedented, in any history, or in any law.

In order to carry Elizabeth's design into effect, of convicting, criminally, her cousin, and heir presumptive, under the act of the 27th of her reign, a commission was directed to twenty-four of the nobility, of the privy counsellors, of the officers of state, of the chancellor, and the several chiefs of the law courts, who, in general, were men of great knowledge, though it must be acknowledged, that they were actuated, by a little too much zeal, and somewhat too much prejudice, against the calumniated Queen[o].

In the meantime, the opinions of lawyers, in several faculties, were taken, upon the *legality* of the proceeding against the Scotish Queen, who, generally, answered, in the affirmative, though their opinions have been questioned, in modern times, as founded upon very insufficient argument[p]. The Judges were consulted, on this difficult case[q]. Their opinion was given in this manner: 1. The facts, which were sufficiently proved against her, are treason, in a subject, wheresoever committed; 2dly. The same facts, if committed, by an alien, are treason; 3dly. The same facts are, also, treason, in the Scotish Queen; and if she be respected, as a private person, punishable, by the ordinary courts of law; and being respected, as a queen, it is thought, the meetest manner of trial, and proceeding against her, were by parliament; 4thly. There is not found any book case, judgment, or precedent, that she, or any other prince, likewise offending, hath been, or ought to

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[o] See the list of the commissioners, in Camden, 346—8.

[p] See Ward's Enquiry into the Foundation, and History of the Law of Nations, in Europe, ii.

[q] In a large MS. in a hand of nearly the time, I find the opinion of the judges, with a MS. note, saying that their opinion had not been collected into the state trials.

be, for the dignity of their persons, exempted, from the general laws of treason, and the pains thereof[r]. The opinion of the judges seems to have been, that the law of England instantly attached on the Scotish Queen, the moment, that she landed, in England; so as to prevent the Queen's departure; so as to give Elizabeth every authority over Mary, without giving Mary any authority over Elizabeth. In fact, Elizabeth made Mary a prisoner, without having committed any offence against any law: But, could manifest wrong be defended, as positive right, by the law of England, or by any other law? [s]

When the Scotish Queen arrived, within the realm of England, some of the ablest statesmen of England gave it, as their opinions, in writing, that she could not be detained, unless she were disgraced, in the eye of the world,—by calumny. And Sir Francis Knollys, the first warden of Mary, complained to Elizabeth, that the responsibility of carrying the Scotish Queen, a prisoner, from Carlisle to Bolton castle, had been, improperly, cast upon him. This complaint brought out Mr. Secretary Cecil, who was bred a lawyer, and was a very able statesman, with his reasons, "to prove the justice of the "Queen's Majesty, in detaining the Scotish Queen[s]." 1st. She is a lawful prisoner, by good treaties: But, he did not quote treaties, which did not exist: 2dly. She may not depart, until she have satisfied the wrong, that she hath done the Queen's Majesty, in openly claiming the crown, and not making just recompense: The wrong was committed, by Henry II, as Elizabeth claimed openly to be King of France, by ordering the Dauphin, and Mary, his wife, who were under age, and under his authority, to assume the titles of England: But, when the Queen of Scots became a free person, by being a

[r] They quoted, however, no opinion, that there was to be found any bookcase, judgment, or precedent, for the affirmative position of the law attaching upon a sovereign, coming within the realm, in a peaceable manner, for a legitimate object.

[s] Goodall, ii. 277, which has been, already quoted.

widow, she disavowed this pretension, and declared, that she had no claim to the crown of England, during Elizabeth's life: The Scotish Queen, therefore, made just recompense to Elizabeth, by her disavowal, and disclaimer. 3dly. The Queen's Majesty's superiority over the crown of Scotland. This, only, showed Cecil's ignorance, however wise he affected to be: For, Acts of Parliament had been passed, in England, confirming the treaty of Northampton, which acknowledged the independence of Scotland, and those acts remained in force: 4thly. The Queen's Majesty was bound, in consequence, to answer the petitions of her subjects, in matters of blood, upon her subjects: This supposed the feudal superiority of England over Scotland; and this being renounced, by existing Acts of Parliament, this argument of Cecil is absurd. Such were the reasons of a very able statesman, and jurist, for Elizabeth's right, of imprisoning Mary, which were so groundless, and irrational, coming from such a man, they only evinced, that no valid reason could be given, for the right of Elizabeth to detain the Scotish Queen, as a prisoner.

If Elizabeth had no right to imprison Mary, whence did the Queen of England, who was the fountain of justice, and of law, derive authority, to legislate, for the Queen of Scots, and to adjudge an equal sovereign, whom she had no right to restrain. Knollys, the first warden of Mary, provided horsemen, whom he armed with pistols, and to whom he gave orders, to fire upon the Scotish Queen, if she attempted to make her escape[t]. Shrewsbury, who was the gaoler of the same Queen, for more than a dozen years, talked very authoritatively of

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[t] Suppose the Queen of Scots had been pistolled, on that occasion, could the act have been justified, before the world? Elizabeth would have sacrificed Knollys to the resentment of France, and Spain: But, a prisoner of war, attempting to escape, may be shot. Yes: Yet, the Queen of Scots was not a prisoner, of war. We thus may perceive, that when *the fact* is recurred to, it does not warrant the proceedings, which were founded upon *fiction*.

putting her to death, if any attempt were made, to carry her away. They derived their authority, as well as their instructions, from Elizabeth, which were drawn, by Cecil, who must have considered the Scotish Queen as a prisoner of war; as they treated her as such, without avowing it. This brings us to the opinion of Zouch, the civilian, in the subsequent century, who maintained, that no sovereign can be tried in the courts of any other sovereign, though the resident sovereign may, upon cause given, be proceeded against, as a sovereign, at war. We may now perceive, that Elizabeth, when she came to the last great act, but one, of taking Mary's life, was still at a loss, with the help of her lawyers, and her statesmen, to determine, by what law, and right, she could put to *death* the object of her jealousy, and her hate. From the moment, that Elizabeth imprisoned the Queen of Scots, without right, Elizabeth's whole conduct to the object of her hatred, throughout eighteen years, was a continued *wrong*; If this were true; then had the Scotish Queen *rights*, correlative to that wrong, which were winked out of sight, and were thereby violated[u].

Those commissioners, without entering into questions of moral fitness, or right, naturally, acted under the recent power, which had been given, by Elizabeth, under the act of Parlia-

[u] There remains, in the Cotton library, a letter, from Elizabeth to Burghley, and Walsingham, to authorize them to confer, privately, with the Scotish Queen, for her resolution, to answer the indightment; to have consideration of many strangers, who were gone to Fotheringay, with ill affections: and to have Naue, Curl, and Parker ready, if the Scotish Queen should desire to have them confirm their examinations. This letter is dated the 7th of October 1586. Calig. ix. 329. There also remains another letter, in the same library, dated on the 8th of October, from Secretary Davison to Burghley; concerning the last mentioned letter of the Queen, which was inclosed in this; with some court news, particularly, of another conspiracy; and of the answer, which she caused to be made to the French ambassador, who had presumed to assert, that the Queen of Scots was not subject to the laws of England. Harl. MSS. 290, p. 180.

ment. They met, on the 11th of October 1586, at Fotheringay castle, where the Scotish Queen was then confined[v].

Meantime, on the 12th of October 1586, Burghley wrote, and circulated among the commissioners, and others, "A note "of the indignities, and wrongs, done and offered, by the "Queen of Scots, to the Queen's majesty;" forgetting, at the same time, to mention the indignities and wrongs, done, and committed, by the Queen's Majesty to the Scotish Queen[w]. In private litigations, to solicit judges is held to be infamous. Here was an extraordinary court assembled, for trying a woman, and a queen, for her life. And it was, at this moment, that Burghley chose to produce his *note* of wrongs, and injuries, done, and committed, by the Scotish Queen, *before she came into England, before she had left France.* In this manner did Burghley, who was one of the commissioners, show his own *impartiality*, and promote the *impartiality* of others. It required not this document to evince, that Elizabeth's whole proceedings, on this trial of a cousin, for her life, were an illegitimate tissue of *wrong* and *injury* to a captive Queen.

In the afternoon, came to her some of the commissioners, with men, learned in the civil, and canon law: And the lord chancellor justified their authority, by their patent, and commission; and showed, that neither her imprisonment, nor her prerogative of royal majesty, could exempt her, from answering, in this kingdom; and with fair words advised her, to hear what should be objected against her; otherwise, by authority of the law, they would proceed against her, though she were absent. To all this, the Queen answered, "that she was no "subject, and rather would die a thousand deaths, than acknow-"ledge herself a subject; considering that, by such an acknow-"ledgement, she should wrong the sublimity of royal majesty,

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[v] Camden, 348.

[w] In Burghley's *hand writing;* and published, in Murdin, 584-5.

" and withal confess herself, to be bound, by all the laws of " England, even in matter of religion. Nevertheless, she was " ready to answer all things, in a free, and full Parliament: As " for this meeting, it was, for aught she knew, devised against " her, being already condemned, and forejudged to die, pur- " posely, to give some colour of a just proceeding: She " warned them, therefore, to look to their consciences, and to " remember, that the theatre of the world is much wider than " England." Then, she began to complain of the injuries done her: But, the lord treasurer, interrupting her, began to reckon up Elizabeth's kindnesses towards her: When she seemed, to make little account of what he had thus said, as well she might, from the recollection of so many years of wrong, and injury, the commissioners departed.

The commissioners now sent her the contents of the commission, that she might see how reasonably they intended to proceed: She did not object to the commissioners, but to the law, on which their power was founded; as it was unjust; being made, purposely, against her; and was without example, and was such, as she would not submit to. After many scruples and objections, she still refused to appear before the commissioners, as she would not own herself a subject to the crown of England. Sir Christopher Hatton, at length, induced the Queen to depart, from her firmness, by desiring her, to lay aside her claim of privilege, which was now of no use to her, and shew your innocence, by appearing to your trial; least, by avoiding trial, you draw upon yourself a suspicion, and stain your reputation with a blot: She yielded at last, says Camden, but with much ado, and ill will, lest she should seem, as she said, to derogate from her predecessors, or successors; but, was very desirous to clear herself, from crimes objected to her; being persuaded, by Hatton's reasons.

The court, at length assembled; and the Scotish Queen took her seat: The chancellor now made her a short speech;

importing that the Queen's majesty had appointed these commissioners to hear matters, which might be objected against her, and how she could, by clearing herself, make her innocence appear to the world. The Queen now rising up said, that she came into England to move the aid, which had been promised her; and yet had been, ever since, detained in prison: She, thereupon, entered her protest; and added, that she now appeared, personally, to refute the crimes objected against her; and hereof she prayed her own attendants to bear witness. The chancellor, in reply, insisted, that her protestation was vain: For, whoever, of what place, quality, or degree soever, he be, should offend against the laws of England was subject to the same laws. The Queen, on the contrary, insisted, that since she had never been protected, by the law, whatever her good sister had said, and as she was a sovereign Queen, who came, quietly, into England, for a peaceable object; so ought she not to be tried, by a law, made after the event, with an insidious view to her. Here, then, is the difference of argumentation, between the lawyers, and the Queen, upon an unprecedented, and difficult question, which has induced intelligent men to say, that the public execution of the sentence, which was pronounced, by the commissioners, under such an act of Parliament, can only be regarded, as a legal murder.

The lawyers now proceeded, to allege, and prove, their several points, to endeavour, by illegitimate proofs, to ascertain her concernment, in the late conspiracy; and thus to infer her guilt. The Queen defended herself with dignity of manner, presence of mind, and vigour of intellect: When we recollect the artifices of the prosecutors, their counterfeits, their briberies; and compare them with her strong denials, her ingenious expositions, and satisfactory deductions, it is not easy to believe, that she had any purpose to affect Elizabeth's life, though the Scotish Queen had, no doubt, intrigued with foreign

powers, perhaps, domestic faction, to relieve her, from an imprisonment, which was unjust, in the origin, and odious, in its continuance. The court, at length, adjourned to the 25th of October; when the commissioners were to meet, in the star chamber[x].

Meantime, the Scotish Queen's bodily complaints returned upon her, and she remained, generally, in bed, throughout the month of October, though she seemed not to be much moved, by those solemn proceedings, which had her life, for their end[y].

The commissioners assembling, accordingly, in the star chamber, pronounced an unanimous judgment against the Scotish Queen, which, at last, is full of the most egregious sophistry. This sentence, says Camden, which depended, wholly, upon the credit of her secretaries, and they not being brought face to face, according to the act of Parliament[z], begot much talk, and various discourses among the people: I have seen, he adds, Naue's apology to King James, in 1605, wherein he solemnly excused himself, that he was neither the author, nor the revealer, of the design, and that he had stoutly

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[x] Camden, 361, from memorials, and registers, of public officers, who were actually present. On the 12th of October 1586, Elizabeth wrote to Burghley, "for "staying the sentence against the Queen of Scots, till the commissioners shall return to her presence, and report their proceedings." Harl. MSS. 290, fol. 184.

[y] There remain two letters, in the Paper Office, from Paulet to Walsingham, 24th, 29th Octob. 1586: He had lately had an interview with the Scotish Queen, who had been indisposed, within those two days, and taking medicine: He found her very calm, and quite undisturbed, with what had lately occurred. She was inquisitive, about the names of several of the commissioners; asking who such a person, sitting in such a place, was; making observations on their several speeches, &c. She said, casually, and apparently, without meaning, "that history made mention, "how this realm was used to blood," and then dropt the conversation. On the 29th Paulet informed Walsingham, that the Scotish Queen's illness continues; and she had kept her bed five or six days, and still remains confined to it. Paulet rejoiced, on the 13th November 1586; that Sir Drue Drurye was to be associated with him, in the charge of the Scotish Queen; as independent of his qualifications, he was an old, and intimate friend.

[z] 13th Eliz. ch. i.

opposed the principal articles of accusation against his mistress, which appeareth not by the proceedings[a]. The same day, the commissioners, and the judges, published a declaration, that this sentence did nothing derogate, from King James's title, and honour, but that he was, in the same place, and right, as if such a sentence had never been pronounced. It should seem, then, that it was the Scotish Queen, alone, who was thus to be sacrificed to the guilty passions of Elizabeth.

The Parliament assembled a few days after. The Estates confirmed the sentence against the Scotish Queen: And unanimously, besought the Queen, for the preservation of the true religion, the security of the realm, the Queen's own safety, and the safety of themselves, and their posterity, that the sentence against the Queen of Scots might be published. They called to her remembrance how fearful the examples of God's vengeance were upon king Saul, for sparing Agag, and upon king Ahab, for sparing the life of Benhadad. Elizabeth sent them a sermon, in answer; and prayed them to find out some other expedient, for sparing the Queen of Scots life, and pro-

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[a] Camden, 362. There remains, in Calig. ix. f. 294, a letter from Secretary Walsingham to Curl, the secretary of the Scotish Queen, which evinces, that improper artifices had been used, to obtain his declaration: "Curle, you do greatly "charge me with my promise; and do forget the favour you have received, by my "mediation: Yet, your own conscience, and judgment, weighing the foulness of "your offence, ought to tell you, that the favour, which you have already received, "is extraordinary. That, which you have confessed is no more than that, which "you saw no reason to deny, when you found yourself charged, by your fellow, "Naue. I have, and will perform my promise, so far forth, as shall lye in me; the "favour is to grow from her majesty; I can be, but a mediator, and therein I "shall have the better ground to deale for you, when you shall lay yourself so "open, as her majesty may see, in your remorse for that, which is past, and a dis-"position to deserve her favour, by acquainting of her with your knowledge of "such things, as may any way concern her estate. I pray God give you grace, "to take profit of this advice. At the court, Septemb. 1586."

viding for her own security. They could find no other expedient, than the immediate death of the Scotish Queen. Elizabeth sent them additional reasons, for her own doubts, and scruples; and desired them, for the present, to content themselves, "with an answer, without an answer:" If I should say, I will not do what you request, I might say, perhaps, more than I intend: and if I should say, I will do it, I might plunge myself into as bad inconveniences, as you endeavour to preserve me from[b]. This contrariety, between those, who had too much religion, and those, who had too little, certainly shows a strange state of the manners, and conditions of persons, in that reformed age. Of the gross affectations, and dissimulation of Elizabeth, there can be no doubt.

The Parliament had been, scarcely, prorogued, when Lord Buckhurst, and Beal,* the clerk of the Privy Council, were sent to the Queen of Scots, to inform her, that sentence of death was pronounced upon her, which the Parliament had approved: She was, also, told, by those messengers, that while she lived, the religion of England could not be safe: And she was warned to prepare herself, for her mortal change, by expiation, and repentance. These messages were probably sent, upon Elizabeth's avowed principle, that Mary's head should never rest. But, she was disappointed: Mary, only, rejoiced, and thanked God, that she was thus taken to be an instrument, for re-establishing religion, in this island[c]. She desired what has seldom been refused to less considerable personages, to have a priest of her own religion, to perform to her the last offices of religion: But, the same zeal, which dictated

[b] Camden, 368.*

[c] To those frequent declarations, in favour of the Roman Catholick religion, the Queen of Scots had been driven, by persecution: For in the Scotish Parliament of April 1567, she had passed an act, renouncing all foreign jurisdiction ecclesiastical, and granting general toleration: She, however, died a Roman Catholick.

those unworthy proceedings, denied her this request. If we were to compare the state of the two queen's, at that interesting moment, we should see Elizabeth full of fears, and agitation; and Mary, equally, resigned, and firm.

The intercession of L'Aubespine, the French ambassador, interposed some delay, in the publication of the sentence: But, on the 4th of December 1586, through the solicitation of some courtiers, the sentence was proclaimed throughout the realm:[d] In this proclamation, Elizabeth acted up to her true character, by seriously protesting, that this avowal of the sentence was extorted from her, to her great grief, by necessity, and the prayers of her people: yet, as we learn, from Camden, there were some, who supposed this conduct of Elizabeth, to be mere artifice, as well as affectation[e]. The character of that Queen was made up of artifice, and affectation: and she, only, laboured, in her vocation, when she acted, with artifice, and affectation, throughout the sad catastrophe of the Queen of Scots's demise.

The publication of this sentence of death being made known to the Queen of Scots, far from being dismayed, with a steady countenance, and uplifted hands, she gave thanks to God, for her speedy relief. And, though Paulet, with the harshness of his nature, divested her of all the badges of royalty, and treated her as a woman of the meanest condition; yet, she endured it, with her usual patience, and accustomed dignity. Having with

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[d] On the same day, Paulet wrote to Walsingham, in his usual temper; expressing his surprise, at not hearing from him lately; and fearing that Fotheringay was forgotten, if he did not know, that the lady, under his charge, had given all her majesty's true and faithful subjects cause not to sleep, soundly, "till the head, "and seedplot of all practices and conspiracies be utterly extirpated:" He hoped soon to hear "of a happy resolution; but, opportunities neglected are very often "accompanied with dangerous effects. The lady is ill in one of her knees; but "that is no new thing."

[e] Camden, 368.

some difficulty obtained leave of him to write, she, by a letter to Elizabeth of the 19th of December; endeavoured to clear herself of all hostility, and of malice against her; thanking God, for this condemnation, who was now pleased to put an end to her lamentable pilgrimage: And she prayed Elizabeth, that she might owe her requested favours to herself: First, that when her adversaries were glutted with her blood, her body might be conveyed, by her servants, to be buried, in France, where her mother rested in peace: Secondly, in regard she feared the secret tyranny of some, that she might not be put to death, in secret, without Elizabeth's knowledge; but in the sight of her servants, and others, who might give testimony of her faith, of her christian departure, to prevent those false reports, with which her adversaries might load her memory: Thirdly, she asked, that her servants might freely depart whither they pleased, and enjoy those legacies, which she had bequeathed them, by her testament: All those requests she made, in the name of Christ, by their near kindred, by the soul, and memory of Henry VII, their common progenitor, and by the royal dignity, which she had borne. Lastly, she earnestly entreated an answer, in her own hand; in order, that she might see, that she had not asked those last favours, in vain. Whether this letter reached Elizabeth's hands, Camden doubts: But, that those requests were ever granted, there cannot be a doubt. About this transaction, there were infinite discourses, at that time, according to the affections, and dispositions, of men: The hard fate of Mary, and the habitual dissimulation of Elizabeth, will interest the passions of mankind, while the history of both shall remain.

Meantime, Henry III. of France, as well by himself, as by his several ambassadors, made the most sincere, and powerful efforts, to save Mary, from the axe of Elizabeth. The Scotish King, who was now twenty, actuated, as well by the constant entreaties of Coursellis, the French ambassador, as by his

natural affections, interested himself warmly, for his mother, who had never injured him. But the agents, whom he employed, only betrayed both. What could be expected, from Archibald Douglas, Morton's agent, in his father's murder, and the master of Gray, a man of utter profligacy, who whispered in Elizabeth's ear, *mortua non mordet*, a dead woman bites not.

Elizabeth, who was naturally slow, as well as capricious, in her resolutions, began, at this late day, to consider, whether it were better to put Mary to death, or to spare her. She feared, what would happen then to her person, and thereafter, to her reputation, if she should put her to death: New phantoms rose up before her guilty eyes, from the Scotish King, who would, on his mother's death, be brought a step nearer to her throne. On the contrary, the courtiers, continually, suggested reasons to her, for carrying into execution the sentence of the law. The French King, also, interposed vigorously, in favour of the Scotish Queen, by sending Mons. Bellievre,[f] for that purpose, who suggested, and gave in, very elaborate reasons, in support of his master's affectionate interposition. These reasons were as elaborately answered, with the help of Burghley. When arguments failed, the French ambassador *leidger* L'Aubespine, entered into concerts, for taking off Elizabeth; but, he being discovered, he was sent for, and charged with this dangerous practice; but, denying it, he was warned how he acted contrary to his duty, as an ambassador. This plot induced the enemies of the Scotish Queen, to frighten Elizabeth, with false rumours, which were propagated, throughout the realms.[g] Elizabeth wondered that, of all the associators, for the safety of her person, none of them would dispatch the Scotish Queen: No one would commit such an act; as no one could trust Elizabeth. She was, at the first of February 1586-7,

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[f] Camden, 374. [g] Ib. 379.

driven, to direct her Secretaries, Walsingham, and Davison, to urge Paulet, and Drury, to assassinate the Queen of Scots. But, these wardens of the attainted Queen, however puritanic, and strict, were too circumspect to adopt a suggestion, which had they effected, had ruined themselves, their families, and their fame for ever[h]. For Elizabeth, according to her guilty policy, would instantly have charged them, as murderers, and as such, would have sacrificed them, to save herself, who had gone full far enough, in baseness, when she directed a woman, a relation, and a queen, to be assassinated. But, she did go farther, in such iniquity. Her attempt on Paulet, and Drury, having failed, by their refusal, to commit an aggravated murder, rumours were spread, that London was fired, and the Queen of Scots escaped; precepts of *hue and cry* were sent to the several towns, to retake the fugitive:[i] As

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[h] See Walsingham and Davison's letter, dated 1st Feb. 1586-7, to Paulet, and Drury, with their answer, on the 2d of February, declining such an act. [In Hearne's R. of Glos'ter, 673—6.] Paulet wrote to Secretary Davison, on the 8th of February 1586-7: "If I should say, I have burnt the papers, you wot of, I can-"not tell if any body would believe me: and therefore, I reserve them, to be de-"livered to your own hands, at my coming to London." [The original is in the Paper Office.] The allusion above was made to the treacherous letter of Walsingham and Davison, which they wrote, by Elizabeth's order, to Paulet and Drury, to assassinate the Scotish Queen. But, this nefarious correspondence had been entered in Paulet's letter book, whence they were transcribed, by Hearne's friend. In the Harley MSS. No. 6994, Art. 29, and 30, there are copies of those letters, partly, in Lord Oxford's own hand; which were lent, by him, to the Duke of Chandos, who returned them, in a letter, dated, at Cannons, August 23d, 1725; expressing his opinion, "that they are a very valuable curiosity, and deserve well "to be preserved." But, neither Lord Oxford, nor the duke, seem to have known, that those notorious epistles had been already published, in 1722, by Dr. Mackenzie, in his *Life* of Mary. [Lives, iii. 340-1.] They were, also, published, in 1725, in Jebb's History of the Life, and Reign of Mary, App. viii. It was not sufficient to say, that those letters were *curiosities:* They will for ever remain indubitable proofs of the murderous spirit of Queen Elizabeth.

[i] On the 4th of February 1586-7, the mayor and aldermen of Exeter wrote to

the facts are true, the question arises, why such rumours should have been propagated, but to terrify the people, who might form a tumult, and in the midst of their terror, and agitation, might lay their bloody hands upon the Scotish Queen, infirm, as she was. But, this artifice, also, failing, Elizabeth still delayed the execution of that detested object, in the hope, that time, and chance, might supply some man-killer to perform the guilty deed.

Elizabeth now became much more miserable than Mary, the hated object of her guilty purpose, who submitted to her hard fortune, with the dignity of a queen, and the resignation of a martyr. On the contrary, Elizabeth was distracted with the most perplexing thoughts, which so troubled her shattered resolution, that she gave herself wholly up to solitariness; sat often mute; and frequently sighing, muttered to herself "*aut "fer, aut feri,*" either bear with her, or strike her; out of I know not what emblem, saith Camden, "*Nè feriari feri,*" strike, lest thou be stricken[k]. What is this, but a description of frenzy. We may say with SHAKSPEARE,

> "Upon her eye-balls murd'rous tyranny
> "Sat, in grim majesty, to fright the world."

How Elizabeth was relieved from her misery; and how Mary was brought under the axe of the law, we may learn the genuine, and historical fact, from Secretary Davison's apology, to Secretary Walsingham; which shows, distinctly, how Elizabeth was freed, from her phrenetick humour; and how

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Lord Burghley, "to know how to act, with regard *to a precept of hue and cry*, to "retake the Queen of Scots, who was said therein to have made her escape." On the same day, the mayor and aldermen of Exeter wrote to the Privy council; "to "know, whether it were true, that London was fired, and the Queen of Scots "escaped." [Lansdowne MSS. in the Brit. Mus. v. 51. Art. 42 and 43.]

[k] Camd. Eliz. 382.

the warrant, for the execution of the Scotish Queen, was sent, from Whitehall, without her knowledge[1].

"The Queen, after the departure of the French, and Scotish ambassadors, *of her own motion*, commanded me, to deliver the warrant, for executing the sentence against the Queen of Scots: When I had delivered it, she signed it, readily, with her own hand: When she had so done, she commanded it, to be sealed, with the great seal of England; and, in a jesting manner, said, Go, tell all this to Walsingham, who is now sick, although, I fear me, he will die, for sorrow, when he hears it. She added, also, the reasons of her deferring it so long; namely, lest she might seem, to have been violently, or maliciously, drawn thereto, whereas, in the meantime, she was not ignorant how necessary it was. Moreover, *she blamed Paulet, and Drury, that they had not eased her of this care*, and *wished, that Walsingham* would feel their pulses, touching this matter. The next day, after it [the warrant] was passed under the great seal, she commanded me, by Killegrew, that it should not be done; and when I informed her, that it was done, already, she found fault, with such great haste, telling me that, in the judgment of some wise men, another course might be taken. I answered, that course was always safest, and best, which was most just. But, fearing lest she would lay the fault upon me, as she had laid the putting to death of the Duke of Norfolk upon the lord Burghley, I acquainted Hatton, with the whole matter; protesting that, I would not plunge myself any deeper, in so great a business. He, presently, imparted it to the Lord Burghley, and the Lord Burghley to the rest of the council; who all consented, to have the execution hastened, and every one of them vowed, to bear an equal share, in the blame, and sent Beal away with the warrant, and letters. The third day

[1] It is literally copied from Camden, out of the apologetical discourse of Davison to Walsingham: The narrative is very curious, in itself, and settles the fact, beyond a doubt.

after, when, by a dream, which she told of the Queen of Scots's death, I perceived, that she wavered in her resolution, I asked her, whether she had changed her mind. She answered, No; but another course might have been devised: And, withal she asked me, whether I had received any answer, from Paulet; whose letter, when I showed it her, wherein he flatly refused to undertake that, which stood not with honour, and justice; she waxing angry, accused him, and others, who had bound themselves, by the association, of perjury, and breach of their vow, as those, who had promised great matters, for their prince's safety, but would perform nothing. Yet, there are, said she, who will do it [murder Mary] for my sake. But, I shewed her, how dishonourable, and unjust a thing this would be; and withal, into how great danger she would bring Paulet, and Drury, by it: For, if she approved the fact, she would draw upon herself, both danger, and dishonour, not without the note of injustice; and if she disallowed it, she would utterly undo men of great desert, and their whole posterity. And, afterwards, she gave me a light check, the same day, that the Queen of Scots was not executed; *because she was not yet put to death.*" Such was Davison's account of this transaction, which evinces the baseness of Elizabeth, the zeal of Burghley, the unfaithfulness of the council, and the execution of the Queen of Scots, by *juggle*, rather than, by *fairness*, by apparent warrant, rather than, by real authority. The warrant, and other documents, which were sent to Fotheringay, for the execution of such a personage, were formal, and legitimate; but they wanted the life, and soul, of such proceedings; in wanting the final assent of the Queen's majesty. When common criminals, who are adjudged, to lose their lives, by public execution, are executed, *otherwise, than the sentence required, it is considered, as murder:* When the Scotish Queen was executed, without the final direction of the supreme magistrate, what was the guilt? and where was the responsibility?

Burghley was the guilty agent; and Elizabeth was the odious magistrate, who, by dissimulation, introduced illegality, where every point ought to be the most precise, and every command the most legal. "*Dissimulation,*" said BACON, Lord Verulam, "is but a faint kind of policy; for it asketh a strong wit, "and a strong heart, to know when to tell truth, and to do "it:" But, the *irresolution* of Elizabeth denuded her even of that sort of *dissimulation,* which would have enabled her, to exercise this faint kind of policy; as she knew not, when, on any occasion, to tell truth, and to do it, according to political justice, and moral equity.

The Privy Council, learning, that the warrant, for the execution of the Scotish Queen was signed, by the Queen's Majesty, and sealed; and Burghley urging the danger of delay, immediately sent down Beal, their clerk, with the warrant, and authority, to the Earls of Shrewsbury, Kent, Derby, Cumberland, and others, to see her executed, according to law. The council thus acted upon the principle of the difficulty of fixing Elizabeth's resolution, taking upon themselves the responsibility of acting, without authority, in a case so important[m].

As soon as the earls came to Fotheringay, on the 7th of February; imparting the matter to Paulet, and Drury, they came to the Queen of Scots; informed her of the cause of their coming; read to her the warrant; and admonished her, to prepare for death, on the morrow. The Queen, though somewhat surprised, undauntedly said, with a composed spirit, "I did not think, that the Queen my sister, would have con-"sented to my death, who am not subject to her laws; but, "seeing her pleasure is so, death shall be to me most wel-"come; neither is that soul worthy of the high and everlast-"ing joys above, whose body cannot endure the stroke of the "executioner[n]." She now prayed them, that she might have

[m] Camden, 382. [n] Id.

conference with her almoner, her confessor, and her master of household, Melville. The earls flatly refused her confessor, and recommended to her the Dean of Peterborough; whom she refusing, the Earl of Kent, turning towards her, said, with heat, " your *life* will be the *death* of our *religion*, as contrari- " wise, your *death* will be the *life* of *it*." Such was the charity of Kent, whatever might be his religion! Mention being made of Babington, she, constantly, denied his conspiracy, to have been, at all, known to her, and the revenge of her wrong, she left to God. Then enquiring what was become of Naue, and Curl; she asked, whether it were ever heard of before, that servants were suborned, and accepted, for witnesses, against their master's life°.

When the earls were departed, she commanded supper to be hastened, that she might the better dispose of her concernments. She supped, sparingly, as her manner was. Being at supper, and spying her servants, both men, and women, weeping, she comforted them, with great magnanimity; and bade them leave mourning, and rather rejoice, that she was now to depart out of a world of miseries. Turning to Burgoin, her physician, she asked him, if he did not now find the force of truth to be great. They say, quoth she, that I must die, because I have plotted against the Queen's life; yet, the Earl of Kent tells me, that there is no other cause of my death, but that they are afraid of their religion, because of me: Neither hath my offence against the Queen, but their fear, because of me, drawn this end upon me; while some under colour of religion, aim at their own advantages. Towards the end of supper, she drank to all her servants, who pledged her, in order, upon their knees; mingling tears with their wine, and

° She did not know, that there was a statute of Elizabeth, that required, in such a case, the witnesses to have been brought into court, face to face, with her, and to be questioned by her.

begging pardon of her, for their neglect of duty; as she, also, did of them. After supper, she perused her will; read over the inventory of her goods, and jewels, and wrote down the names of those, to whom she bequeathed each particular. To some, she distributed money, with her own hand. To her confessor, she wrote a letter; begging that he would, in his prayers, make intercession for her with God. She wrote letters of recommendation, for her servants, to the King of France, and the Duke of Guise. At her wonted time, she went to bed; slept some hours; and then awaking, she spent the rest of the night in prayer.

The morning of the 8th of February, 1586-7, being come, she dressed herself, as gorgeously, as she was wont to do, on festival days; and calling her servants together, she commanded her will to be read; and prayed them, to take their legacies, in good part, for her ability would not extend to greater matters. Then fixing her mind wholly upon God, in her oratory, with sighs, and prayers, she begged his divine grace, and favour, till the sheriff, Andrews, came to acquaint her, that she must now appear, in the last scene of her devious life. She came out, with state, countenance, and presence, says Camden, majestically composed, with a cheerful look, and a matron-like habit; with her head covered with a veil, which hung down to the ground; with her prayer book, beads, hanging at her girdle; and carrying a crucifix of ivory in her hands. In the porch, she was received, by the earls, and other noblemen, where Melvill, her servant, falling upon his knees, and pouring forth his tears, bewailed his hard hap, that he was to carry into Scotland the woful tidings of the unhappy fate of his lady, and mistress. She thus comforted him: "Lament not, but rather rejoice; thou shalt, by and by, see "Mary Steuart, freed from all her cares. Tell them, that I "die constant, in my religion, and firm, in my fidelity, towards "Scotland, and France. God forgive them, that have thirsted

" after my blood, as harts do after the fountain. Thou, oh God,
" who art truth itself, and perfectly, and truly understandeth
" the inward thoughts of my heart, knoweth how greatly I
" have desired, that the kingdoms of Scotland, and England
" might be united into one. Commend me to my son; and
" assure him, that I have done nothing, which may be prejudi-
" cial to the kingdom; admonish him to hold in amity with
" the Queen of England; and see thou do him faithful service."

And now the tears trickling down, she bad Melvill, several times, farewell, who wept, as fast as she. Then, turning to the earls, she prayed them, that her servants might be civilly dealt withal; that they might enjoy the legacies, which she had bequeathed them; that they might stand by her, at her death, and might be sent back into their own country, with letters of safe conduct. The former requests they granted: But, that they should stand by her at her death, the Earl of Kent showed himself somewhat unwilling, fearing some superstition. Fear it not, said she, these harmless souls desire only to take their last farewell of me. I know, my sister, Elizabeth, would not have denied me so small a matter, that my women should be then present, were it but for the honour of the female sex. I am her near kinswoman, descended, from Henry VII., Queen dowager of France, and anointed Queen of Scots.

When she had said thus much, and turned herself aside, it was, at last, granted, that such of her servants, as she should name, should be present with her. She named Melvill, Burgoin, her physician, her apothecary, her surgeon, two women servants, and others; Melvill bore up her train: So, the gentlemen, the two earls, and the sheriff, going before her, she came to the scaffold, which was built at the upper end of the hall; on which was placed a chair, a cushion, and a block, all covered with black cloth. As soon as she was sat down; and silence commanded; Beal read the warrant: She heard it

attentively, yet, as if her thoughts were taken up, with somewhat else. Then Fletcher, the Dean of Peterborough, began a long speech to her, concerning the condition of her life passed, present, and to come. She interrupted him once, or twice, as he was speaking; and prayed him not to trouble himself; protesting that she was firmly fixed, in the ancient Catholic religion, and for it, was ready to shed her blood. When he earnestly persuaded her, to true repentance, and to put her whole trust in Christ, by an assured faith; she answered, that in that religion, she was born, bred, and was ready to die. The earls said, they would pray for her, to whom she said, that she would give them hearty thanks, if they would pray with her; but, to join, continued she, in prayer, with you, who are of another profession, would be in me, a heinous sin. Then, they appointed the dean to pray; with whom, while the multitude, that stood round, were praying, she fell down on her knees, and holding the crucifix before her, in her hands, prayed in Latin, with her servants, out of the *Office of the blessed Virgin Mary*.

After the dean had ceased, she, in English words, recommended the church, her son, and Queen Elizabeth, to God; beseeching him to turn away his wrath, from this island; and professing that she reposed her hope of salvation in the blood of Christ; lifting up the crucifix, she called upon the celestial choir of saints, to make intercession to him, for her; she forgave all her enemies, and kissing the crucifix, and signing herself, with the cross, she said, " as thy arms, oh Christ, were " spread out upon the cross, so receive me, with the stretched " out arms, of thy mercy, and forgive my sins." Then the executioners asked her forgiveness, which she granted them. And, when her women servants had taken off her upper garments, lamenting the while, she kissed them, and signing them, with the cross, bade them, with a cheerful countenance, forbear their womanish lamentations; For, *now, said she, shall*

I rest, from all my sorrows. In like manner, turning to her men servants, who, also, wept, she signed them, likewise, with the cross; and smiling, bade them farewell: And, now, having covered her face, with a linen hankerchief, and laying herself down on the block, she repeated, from the Psalm, In thee, oh Lord, do I trust, let me never be confounded. Then stretching out her body, and repeating many times, into thy hands, oh Lord, I commend my spirit, her head was stricken off, at two strokes: The dean crying out, *so let Queen Elizabeth's enemies perish;* the Earl of Kent, answering, *Amen:* the multitude, meanwhile, sighing, and sorrowing[p]. A circumstance occurred, which added, greatly, to the interest of this affecting scene: When they were about to remove the body of the unfortunate queen, her little dog, which had followed her to the scaffold unobserved, amidst more striking objects, was found under her clothes, which could not be gotton forth, but by force, and afterwards would not depart, from her dead corpse, but went, and laid down, between her head, and shoulders, a thing diligently noted[q]. While fidelity shall be considered, as a virtue, this remarkable instance of affectionate attachment will be regarded with satisfaction[r].

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[p] Camden, 385.

[q] Beal's narrative.

[r] Here is the last letter, which Paulet wrote to Secretary Walsingham, on the 25th of February 1586-7, from the Paper Office:—Paulet informed Walsingham, that he had brought all the Scotish people, from Chartley, to Fotheringay, and discharged all the soldiers, except four, for the gate. All the jewels, plate, &c. belonging to the late Queen of Scots, were divided, among her servants; previous to Walsingham's letter: None of the servants, or attendants, except Mrs. Kennedy, and Curl's sister, have any thing to show in writing, to prove, that they were given to them, by the late Scotish Queen: For, they all affirm, that they were delivered to them, with her own hands: They have been collected together, and an inventory taken of them, and they are now entrusted to the care of Mr. Melvin, the physician, and Mrs. Kennedy. "The care of embalming the body of the late "Queen, was committed to the high sheriff of this county, who, no doubt, was "very willing to have it well done; and used therein the advice of a physician,

We have thus beheld how Queen Mary could die: Let us now see how Queen Elizabeth could live. It was a singular trait of Elizabeth's character, that the *life*, or *death*, of the *Scotish Queen*, made her, equally, miserable. As soon as the report of the execution of Mary was brought to her, says Camden, she broke out into indignation, her countenance changed, her speech faultered, and through excessive sorrow, or dissimulation, she gave herself up to passionate grief; shedding abundance of tears, and putting herself into mourning. Her council, she sharply rebuked; commanding them, out of her sight, and causing them to be examined[s]. She banished from court, lord Burghley, who took it exceedingly to heart; as if he had not been the principal instrument, in the Scotish Queen's execution: He professed his ignorance of Elizabeth's *private mind;* and when he knew it, confessed his sorrow. He thought the Queen was too severe, for what he had, ignorantly, done. He endeavoured to obtain access to his old, and cankered mistress, to show his innocence, and to ask forgiveness; but, without success. He now wrote her several letters, of explanation, and apology, with no better success: and he merits some praise, while he justified himself, that he pleaded, strenuously, for Secretary Davison, a man of great talents, as well as integrity[t]. Some weeks after, Burghley was admitted

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" dwelling at Stamford, with the help of two surgeons; and upon order given, " according to your direction, for the body to be covered with lead, the physician " hath thought good to add somewhat to his former doings, and doth now take " upon him, that it may continue, for some reasonable time."

[s] Ib. 388; Strype, iii. 370.

[t] Strype, iii. 373, who, mistakingly, says, that Davison sent away the warrant: It was the Privy Council, who sent off the warrant, by Beal, upon the recommendations of Burghley. In the Brit. Mus. Lansdowne MSS. vol. 102. Art. 3, 4, 5, there are Burghley's complaint to the Queen, that having offended her, he was not allowed, to speak for himself, in person to her;—two letters of Burghley to the Queen; for mitigation of her displeasure, on account of the Queen of Scots;—

to his first audience, after this exclusion, from the Queen's presence, when she wanted his advice, concerning the Low Countries. But, being in her presence, says Strype, she fell foul upon him, for the late grudge: whereupon, he went again into great discontent, and absented himself from court[u]. Burghley had, by his practices, merited greater punishment: For, it was he, who fed the rancour of Elizabeth against Mary, for assuming the style, and title of the English crown, when she was *under age*, and *under coverture*, under the direction of Henry II.; which was less ideal, and offensive, than Elizabeth's claim of being *King* of France, in the face of the fundamental laws: And the minister, who encourages religious zeal, and political fanaticism, must be responsible, for his folly. Very different was the unfortunate case of Secretary Davison, who had acted, as an able, and honest statesman; yet, was he carried into the star chamber, where he was fined £10,000, imprisoned, and undone[v].

Elizabeth, amidst her agitations, either feigned, or real, seems to have forgotten, that the Queen of Scots remained unburied. Her body, indeed, had been embalmed, by the care of Andrews, the sheriff; and placed in a leaden coffin, by order of Walsingham, till the ministers could obtain the final determination of Elizabeth, whether to comply with the late Queen's desire; to be buried with her mother, in France; or where, or how, was to be disposed of a royal personage, who had once been the admiration of Europe. At the end of six months, Mary, the late Queen of Scots was, at length, interred, with a royal funeral, in the cathedral church of Peterborough, on Tuesday the 1st of August 1587, opposite to the grave of

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a complaint, and declaration (still under the Queen's displeasure) not addressed to any person.

[u] Strype, 374.

[v] Ib. 375: Camden, 389—93. Davison's *Apology* is one of the most interesting documents of that age. See it, with notes, in Whitaker's *Vindication*, iii. App. No. xvi.

Queen Catherine[w]. Shortly after this interment, there was a tablet hung against the wall, above her grave, which contained a lapidary inscription, from the pen of Blackwood, and has been translated into Camden's life of Elizabeth, in such English, as so inflated an inscription allowed. This tablet was not long after removed, by whatever hand; yet her royal ensigns of a helmet, sword, and scutcheon, as they hung high, remained to the year 1646, when they were involved, in the storms of fanaticism, which then fell upon this church, and its monuments.

Meanwhile, the Scotish King was not easy, when he learned, that the guilty axe of Elizabeth hung over his mother's head, by the slender thread of that Queen's duplicity. He was surrounded by Scotish traitors,[x] and by English spies, when not

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[w] The expense of the funeral, as certified to the Lord Treasurer, was £320. 14. 6. [The account is in the Paper Office.] After the body of the Scotish Queen had rested, in that cathedral, five and twenty years, her son caused it to be translated to Henry VII.'s chapel, in October 1612: And here, he caused a stately monument to be erected to her, where so many royal personages remain. The last ornament of this present LIFE of the Scotish Queen is a print of *her tomb*, which was delineated by Carter, and engraved, by Cooper. King James paid £3500. sterling, as we learn, from Walpole's Anecdotes of Painting, for the monuments of Queen Elizabeth, of the Queen of Scots, of the two daughters of the King, Mary, and Sophia. On this splendid tomb, several tables of marble contain the epitaph of the Queen of Scots, which give an account of her royal descent, and kingly relations, the uncommon endowments both of her body, and mind; the troubles of her life; her constancy in religion, and her resolution in death.

[x] The notorious master of Gray wrote from Dunfermlin, on the 8th of September 1586, to Archibald Douglas, the relation of Morton, and as guilty as he of the King's murder, who was now the Scotish ambassador, at London: "For this [the "Queen's relief] you must deal, very varily, to eschew inconvenience; seeing the "necessity of *all honest men's affairs* requires, that she were out of the way." Murdin 568. There remains a letter of Walsingham, 14th of September 1586, to the master of Gray, "about sounding the King of Scots, concerning the trial of "his mother." Calig. C. ix. 311.

yet one and twenty. And he was thus induced to think, that Elizabeth, in deciding the fate of a hated rival, would regard his feelings, more than her own sensations of dread, and hatred[y]. While the fate of his mother was yet suspended, the minsters of Edinburgh, on his application, refused, to pray for her, according to their usual contempt, in that age, for gospel charity. From this denial, he probably saw, what he had to trust to, if he were to give greater vent to his revenge, than his policy; and he, certainly, felt his own imbecility, amid such a collision of parties, and prostitution of principles. On the 6th of December, two days, after the proclamation of his mother's condemnation, he dispatched a numerous deputation of ambassadors, "to endeavour to stop the proceedings against the Queen, his mother[z]."

A month almost elapsed, after the event, before K. James, distinctly, knew, that his mother had died by a stroke of Elizabeth's vengeance, with a resolution worthy of her rank, with an affectionate remembrance of him, and with a just regard to her native kingdom. Elizabeth, meanwhile, wrote him a soothing, but fallacious letter, by Robert Cary, her kinsman; wherein she wished the King of Scots, to understand, that this *lamentable accident* had happened, contrary to her intention. Of Elizabeth's real design, there can be no doubt: We see but too plainly, that her object was to cause the Queen of Scots to be, privately, assassinated, rather than publicly executed, in Davison's narrative, and still more, in the letter of her two secretaries, Walsingham, and Davison, to Paulet and Drury, urging them to perform the guilty deed. The King refused to receive her envoy, which indicated, that he disbelieved her

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[y] Coursellis's MS. dispatches. Towards the end of October, the King wrote to "his ambassador, Douglas, at London; requiring his decided exertions in behalf "of his mother; as all negotiation would be useless, if her life be taken." Ib. 432: Howard's letters, 244.

[z] Lansdowne MSS. v. 103. Art. 28.

gross simulation, as did her own ministers, and the civilized world. She sent, however, the sentence against Davison, which was only an aggravation of her guilt; and what was of more importance, as it was of more use, she communicated to the King, the opinion of the judges; affirming that the sentence against his mother would not prejudice his title to the succession, which awaited him. But, above all a letter, which Walsingham wrote to Maitland, the King's principal minister, containing the wisest suggestions of policy, had the greatest influence, in calming the natural irritation of an irascible people; other motives had some effect; Edinburgh, and the southern shires of Scotland, swarmed with English spies, and emissaries, while Lord Scroope drew together a body of troops on the south western border. On the other hand, Henry III. reprobated the cruelty of Elizabeth towards the Scotish Queen; commended the King's affectionate efforts, in favour of his mother; and urged the King, with assurances of support, to avenge the odious conduct of the one queen, and the hard fate of the other[a].

There continued, for some time, a considerable fermentation, at Edinburgh, owing to those causes, as well as to the natural feelings of the people. Even so judicious a character, as the lord justice clerk, gave it as his opinion, that the King, and the whole nation, were touched, in their honours, which they ought to vindicate, let the consequences be what they would, unless satisfaction came first from England. In the Scotish Parlia-

[a] Calig. D. 1. One of Walsingham's spies wrote to him, from Edinburgh, on the 3d of March 1586-7, "that he had just seen the master of Gray, who is "utterly estranged from England: The reason is, that the Earl of Leicester had "delivered Gray's letters to Sir Alexander Stuart, to be shewn to the king, to "ruin him; that Elizabeth herself had sent such like messages to the king against "Gray: He therefore desired Secretary Walsingham to get letters written to the "king, and to Archibald Douglas, exculpating Gray, who was too bad to be de-"fended, though perfidy is equally indefensible:" Pasquils were set up against the king, and the lords of his council; provoking him to revenge his mother's death.

ment of July 1587, some sharp speeches were made to the king concerning the death of the queen, his mother[b]. These

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[b] The following letter, from Robert Carvyle, an English spy, to Secretary Walsingham, is the best proof of what is stated, in the text.

"Right Hon. my duty remembered: These are to satisfie your honour, that I "have bene, in Scotland, ever synce the last of February: And colde get no dis- "patche, until Monday the sixt of this instant, at nyne of the clock in the morn- "inge: And then I receyved (at the hands of the secretary, whoe ruleth the "courte) a letter to Mr. Carie, from him, by warrante, from the King's matie, "which was to this effect; that he should wryte, that the King wolde receyve no "emassadour, as yet, partly by reason of his heaviness, and sorrowinge, for his, "mother; and also, for that he is not resolved, that the Queen's matie is so sory, "for his mother's death, as he was informed she was; and further, because he "cannot staye the rigor of his people, being wickedly bent, and evil geven, as "I both hard, and sawe, with myne eyes; for there is dayly libells set up in open "strete, and cast into the pulpit, both against the Kinge himself, the Mr. of Gray, "Mr. Archibald Douglas, and the preachers; and amongst the rest, the 4th of "this instant, there were two sett up at my lodginge, very odious, and detestable "ageynst the Quene's matie, the copie whereof, I have sent you herein closed; "which two, I toke off, and the one, I gave to the secretary, to shewe the Kinge; "the other MS. Robert Carie hath to send to my L. Chamberlyne: And truly, "for all this sturr, I fynde, that the secretary is very well inclined towards her "matie, and a favorer towards the mayntenance of peace and amitie, and the "Kinge *himself* also. But, touchinge the sending awaye of embassadours into "other countries, they are not yet fully agreed; and touchinge the Mr. of Gray, "and his doings, your honour shall have more in Roger Ashton, his pacquet. "And so until my next, I humbly take leave, &c. Barwick, in hast, the vi of "March 1586. Your honours to my power, Robart Carvyle.

"Postcript. Curcellis man stands fast, and firme, and is ready to be employed, "when I shall hear from your honour. It were good, that the secretary were "used, for he is very gret. Your honor shall receyve a pacquet, from Roger "Aston." [Cotton lib. Calig. C. ix. fo. 71.]

"*Fruere pro funere fune.*"

"To Jesabell that English heure
Receyve this Scottishe cheyne
As presages of her gret malheur
For murthering of oure Quene."

"The cheyne was a little corde of hemp tied halter-wise." This note of ex-

speeches touched the feelings of the privy counsellors of England, who complained, through the Scots ambassador to the King, who gave them a satisfactory explanation, as to himself though they remained dissatisfied with the chancellor, and the lords. Maitland, the chancellor, the brother of the late secretary, who was, certainly, the ablest, and honestest statesman, in Scotland, probably acted a part: He was too wise a person, to allow his passion to overrule his policy: And his real object, probably, was, to obtain from Elizabeth's government, a considerable subsidy, for the King, who, however, but very ill supported his minister's intentions[c].

King James, who was now upwards of one and twenty, liked

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planation is in the hand writing of Robert Carvyle, and added at the bottom of the verses, which are in a different hand writing, and seem to be one of the original libels, fixed on his lodgings, at Edinburgh.

[c] There remains a long, and able letter from the Chancellor Maitland; in which he insisted, that the King's right of succession should be legally acknowledged, and a proper subsidy settled on him; as adequate compensations, for the queen's death. In Calig. B. viii., may be seen an original letter, from Roger Aston, a spy of Walsingham, dated at Holyrood-house, the last of July 1587: He informed Walsingham, "that the king had returned to Edinburgh, to conclude the present "Parliament, which was dissolved, on Saturday, the 29th of July. Matters did "not look well towards England. The secretary appears to have altered his "course; and had promoted the Earl of Huntley, and others, not devoted to "England. Among some, who were determined, to abide all storms for the English interest, was Mr. Keith, late ambassador to London. The secretary who had "chief influence, and ruled all, had taken a great hatred against Mr. Archibald "Douglas [one of the murderers of the king's father, and the betrayer of his "mother] and would not suffer any course to go forward, in which Douglas was a "dealer. Every pains was taken to keep alive the memory of the queen's death, "and no opportunity was lost in keeping the same constantly in mind. Notwithstanding this," continues Aston, "he knew, that *the King's own mind was, to "live quietly*, and not to have any trouble, either in his own country, or in any "other."

amusement better than business. And though he felt sharply the death of his mother, when brought simply under his consideration; yet, a very little reflection made him feel his weakness[d]. He seems to have drawn up, with his own hand, a paper of reasons why "he was unable to revenge the heinous "murder, committed against his dearest mother, by the old "enemies of my progenitors, realme, and nation: First, in "respect of my tender youth, not trained up, in dexterity of "arms, either to withstand injury, or to conquer my own "right; being at all time bygone *detained in captivity:* "Next, my excessive want, being obliged to live, from hand "to hand; having sufficient patrimony, and casualty, without "any thing in store. Then, the divers factions of spiritual, "and temporal estates; every one regarding himself, and not "me[e]." The King's reasons are quite satisfactory; but, another reason, which, arising from natural temperament, pressed still more forcibly upon him, through life; like his mother, and perhaps his whole family, *he could not act*, however well informed. In the subsequent year, Elizabeth sent the aged Walsingham to Edinburgh; in order to discover, and report to her, what kind of prince King James, really, was: On every topick, which Walsingham could touch upon, the King,

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[d] Colvyle intimated to Walsingham; "that her majesty need not fear any war; "as Scotland had not the means, to carry on war, and the people were much "divided; that on the last day of the Parliament, the secretary, who was made "chancellor, after the conclusion of all matters, stood up, and made a long ora-"tion, in the name of the three Estates; offering their lives, lands, and goods, for "revenging the king's mother's murder, which speech was well received, by the "general voice of the whole house. Notwithstanding all this, to morrow, the king, "and court, take a journey to *the buck hunting*; and he had as much mind of "that, as of any war."

[e] The King's REASONS, which are somewhat imperfect, from transcription, are in the Cotton Library, Julius, F. fo. 70.

who had much knowledge, and an excellent memory, talked so plausibly, that he imposed upon that experienced statesman. King James lived to have as great an ascendency, in the court of Elizabeth, as she had long practised, in Scotland; and to influence her principal minister, who deluded his aged mistress, for the interest, and quiet of both. He acceded, as quietly, to the throne of England, as if his succession had been settled, by Act of Parliament.

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* * * At the *eve* of the Scotish Queen's *trial*, for *her life*, we have seen Lord Burghley circulate[e] what he called,

A NOTE of the *indignities*, and *wrongs, done*, and *offered*, by the Queen of Scots to the Queen's majesty:[f]

The time, the place, the circumstances of this artifice, with the obvious design of influencing the commissioners, who were to decide on the Queen of Scots's guilt, or innocence, all demand an adequate answer to Burghley's insidious publication.

His First Charge.

The Queen of Scots' challenge of the crown of England, by her using of the arms, and style of England; and being admonished thereof, answers were made very frivolously.

The Answer thereto.

The Scotish Queen, on the 26th of July 1561, when applied to, formally, by Throkmorton, Elizabeth's ambassador, on this subject, said: I was then under the commandment of King Henry my father, and of the king, my lord, and husband; and whatsoever was then done, by their commandments, the same was, in like manner continued till both their deaths; since which time, you know, I neither bore the arms, nor used the titles of England: Methinks, these my doings, continued she, might ascertain the

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[e] See before, p. 438.

[f] It was circulated, on the 12th of October 1586, in Burghley's hand; and was published, by Murdin, 584.

Queen, your mistress, that what was done *before*, was done, by the commandment of them, who had power over me; and also she ought to be satisfied, seeing I order my doings, as I tell you. To this exposition of the Scotish Queen, there was no answer made, by Throkmorton, then; nor could any be made, by any one, thereafter: She was under age, and under coverture, and she, and her husband, were under the power of Henry II, her father in law; and she was bound to obey both her father, and her husband; but, since their several deaths, she had discontinued the practice, which had given offence: and now being a widow, she did not *trouble her state, nor practise with her subjects,* [as Elizabeth then did, with Scotland, and Mary's subjects.] She only asked her friendship. This is the answer, which Burghley declared to be *frivolous;* and which he could not confute; yet, was always ready to bring forward, as matter of charge. If he meant, to make a sovereign of equal dignity, with his own, personally, answerable for what she did, as a sovereign, Burghley only showed his malignity, contrary to the common practice of mankind, to common justice, and to the common law of nations. If he avowed such a principle of action; then did he denude his mistress of her rank, and pretentions of one of the sovereigns of civilized nations, and degrade her to the state of one of the Barbary powers, who were despised, for their ignorance, and contemned, for their practices. What apology did Elizabeth expect, from a queen of full as much dignity, as herself, more than a disavowal of the offensive pretension, and an avowed discontinuance, in future, of the injurious practice? Between sovereigns of equal rank what was then done, by the Queen of Scots, was constantly deemed a sufficient satisfaction, for such an injury, which, in her, as a married woman, was no injury at all. Henry II. was answerable for whatever wrong was committed: But, he had a retort ready, for Elizabeth: Upon what principle do you pretend, contrary to the fundamental laws of my ancient realm, which do not admit a female king, to govern, whatever he—she, in his—her conceipt, might claim. [The above facts we learn, from Throkmorton's letter to Elizabeth, 26th July 1561.]

His Second Charge.

Great forces were continued, in Scotland, after peace made, for England, by the Queen's majesty, and the French King, and his wife, for Scotland.

The Answer thereto.

The peace alluded to above was probably the peace of Cambray, in April 1559, or perhaps the treaty of Upsettlington, on the 31st of May thereafter: But, there is nothing in either, about sending, or keeping troops, in Scotland. Burghley knew full well, that a rebellion existed, in Sootland, from 1558 till 1560, inclusive, which he, and his mistress, fomented; and thus did their own act make troops necessary. As Scotland, and France, were amalgamated, by the marriage of the Scotish Queen with the Dauphin, the French King had a right to send troops to Scotland against the rebels, whom Elizabeth fostered; and she had neither any just right, nor any adequate pretence, for opposing what was done, rightfully, by Mary, and her husband. But, without any right, Elizabeth entered into a formal treaty, at Berwick, in February 1559-60, with Mary's rebellious subjects, for giving them assistance, by sea, and land. It was in pursuance of this illegitimate treaty, that Elizabeth sent forces, under Lord Gray, in aid of the Scotish insurgents. In all this, the French King, and Queen, were right; and Elizabeth was quite wrong. The troops on both sides remained, in Scotland, till the treaty of Edinburgh, July 1560, under which both were bound to retire, except a few French troops, which, by the treaty, were allowed to remain, in Dunbar, and Inch-Keith. And Mary told the English ambassador, on the 11th of August 1561, "the French garrisons are remanded from "Scotland; the fort of Aymouth is razed to the ground." What, then, was said, by Burghley, on this head, was only a tissue of misrepresentation, and impertinence.

His Third Charge.

By the treaty of Edinburgh, it was covenanted, that the King, and Queen of France, and Scotland, should forbear to use, the style, and titles of England.

The Answer thereto.

The French negotiators, formally, declared, that they had no authority, or any power, to treat of the titles of either party to the crown of England: And having no power to treat, it was informal, and unfit, in the English negotiators, Cecil, and Wotton, to enter into such a question. Why are the powers called for, and produced, at the opening of every treaty, but to understand distinctly, what powers the several negotiators are invested with: But, having at the treaty of Edinburgh, contrary to every rule of diplomacy, entered into negotiation with persons unauthorized, Cecil and Wotton, inserted a clause, obliging the Queen of Scots never, *at any time,* to claim the crown of England, though she was presumptive heir thereof: This, then, is of a quite different import, from a stipulation that she would cease to use the style, and titles of England; and she had already ceased to use such titles: For what was done, by the French government, during the life of Francis II. she was not answerable: But, when she became a widow, she had a right either to ratify the treaty of Edinburgh, or to reject it: She did reject it, for two reasons: (1) Her ambassadors had no power to treat, about her title: (2) The clause, which was inserted, without authority, was, injuriously, worded, in as far as, it denuded her of her claim to the crown of England, at any time, instead of stipulating, that she would not, in future, use titles, which she had already discontinued; and did not mean to claim, during Elizabeth's life. Burghley only showed his propensity to misrepresent; and his talent for sophistry, in the place of candour, and truth: The Scotish Queen was, therefore, right, and the English minister was, totally, wrong. He now alluded to the claim made, on Elizabeth, personally, by Secretary Maitland, after the Queen's arrival, in Scotland, of a declaration, by Parliament, of her presumptive title to the crown, after the failure of Elizabeth and her heirs. But, was such a claim any injury, or wrong? No: This claim was made by her secretary, without her authority, or instruction, and it was supposed to be done, in concert with Cecil, to vex Elizabeth, and to injure Mary. The declamation of Burghley, about the great power of the Guises, in

France, was nothing to the purpose; as it contained not any matter of charge against the Scotish Queen: It answered his purpose, however, at that critical moment, by inciting popular indignation, to delude the ignorant, and to injure the innocent; and, at the same time, to avow his guilty passions, of hatred, and malignity, towards the Scotish Queen.

Such, then, were the *indignities*, and *wrongs*, which were *done*, and *offered*, by the Scotish Queen, to the Queen's majesty, in the corrupt opinion of Lord Burghley, which was sufficiently frivolous, and malignant. But, the following extracts of letters from the English ambassador, Throkmorton, in July, and August 1561; communicating his discussions with the Scotish Queen, concerning the treaty of Edinburgh, will not only show, that Burghley was unfounded in his facts; but, will illustrate the talents of the Queen of Scots, for business, at the age of eighteen.

Throkmorton's Letter to Elizabeth, from Paris, 21st July 1561.

It may please your majesty to understand: Having intelligence, that Monsieur d'Oysell had advertised the Queen of Scotland, by Rollet her secretary, the 17th of this present, what answer your majesty had made him; and hearing also of the sundry praises and discourses made here, of that your majesty answered, I sent to Dampier (a house of the Cardinal of Lorrain's) the 19th of this month, to the Queen of Scotland, to require audience of her, which she appointed me to have the next day, in the afternoon, at St. German's.

The 20th of this present, in the afternoon, I had access to the said Queen of Scotland, with whom I found Monsieur d'Oysell talking when I entered into her chamber; she dismissed Monsieur d'Oysell, and rose from her chair, when she saw me; unto whom I said, Madam, whereas you sent lately Monsieur d'Oysell to the Queen my mistress, to demand her majesty's safe conduct, for your free passage, by sea, into your own realm, and to be accomodated with such favors, as upon events, you might have need of upon the coast of England, and also did farther require the free passage of the said Monsieur d'Oysell, into Scotland, through

England: the Queen my mistress hath not thought good to suffer the said Monsieur d'Oysell to pass into Scotland, nor to satisfy your desire, for your passage home, neither for such other favours, as you required to be accommodated withall, at her majesty's hand; inasmuch as you have not accomplished the ratification of the treaty, accorded by your deputies, in July, now twelve months ago, at Edinburgh, which in honor you are bound many ways to perform; for besides, that you stand bound by your hand and seal, whereby your commissioners were authorised, it may please you, madam, to remember that many promises have been made, for the performance thereof, as well in the king your husband's time, as by yourself, since his death, and yet notwithstanding the treaty remaineth unratified, as before, a whole year being expired since the accord thereof, which by your commissioners was agreed to have been ratified within sixty days: So as upon this unamicable and indirect dealing, the Queen my mistress hath refused you these favours, and pleasures, by you required, and hath grounded this her majesty's strangeness unto you, upon your own behaviour, which her majesty doth uncomfortably, both for that your majesty is, as she is, a Queen, her next neighbour, and next kinswoman; nevertheless, her majesty hath commanded me to say unto you, madam, (quoth I) that if you can like to be better advised, and to ratifie the treaty, as you in honor are bound to do, her majesty will not only give you and your's free passage, but also will be most glad to see you pass through her realm, that you may be accomodated with the pleasure thereof, and such friendly conference may be had betwixt you, as all unkindness may be quenched, and an assured perfect amity betwixt you both for ever established. Having said thus much unto her, the said Queen sat down, and made me sit also by her; she then commanded all the audience to retire them further off, and said, Monsieur l'ambassadour, I know not well my own infirmity, nor how far I may with my passion be transported; but I like not to have so many witnesses of my passions, as the Queen your mistress was content to have, when she talked with Monsieur d'Oysell: There is nothing that doth more grieve me, than that I did so forget myself, as to require of the Queen your mistress

that favour which I had no need to ask; I needed no more to have made her privy to my journey, than she doth me of hers; I may pass well enough home into my own realm, I think, without her passport, or licence; for though the late King your master (said she) used all the impeachment he could both to stay me, and to catch me, when I came hither, yet you know Monsieur l'ambassadour, I came hither safely, and I may have as good means, to help me home again, as I had to come hither, if I would employ my friends: Truly (said she) I was so far from evil meaning to the Queen your mistress, that at this time I was more willing to employ her amity to stand me in stead, than all the friends I have; and yet you know, both in this realm, and elsewhere, I have both friends, and allies, and such as would be glad, and willing to employ both their forces, and aid to stand me in stead; you have, Monsieur l'ambassadour (quoth she) oftentimes told me, that the amity between the Queen your mistress and me were very necessary, and profitable for us both; I have some reason (quoth she) now to think, that the Queen your mistress is not of that mind; for I am sure, if she were, she would not have refused me thus unkindly; it seemeth she maketh more account of the amity of my disobedient subjects, than she doth of me their sovereign, who am her equal in degree, though inferior in wisdom and experience, her nighest kinswoman and her next neighbour; and trow you (quoth she) that there can be so good meaning between my subjects and her, which have forgotten their principal duty to me, their sovereign, as there should be betwixt her and me? I perceive, that the Queen your mistress doth think, that because my subjects have done me wrong, my friends, and allies, will forsake me also: Indeed your mistress doth give me cause to seek friendship, where I did not mind to ask it; but Monsieur l'ambassadour, let the Queen your mistress think, that it will be thought very strange amongst all princes, and countries, that she should first animate my subjects against me, and now being a widow, to impeach my going into my own country: I ask her nothing but friendship; I do not trouble her state, nor practise with her subjects; and yet I know there be in her realm that be inclined enough to hear offers, I know also they be not of the mind she is of, neither

in religion, nor other things. The Queen your mistress doth say, that I am young, and do lack experience; indeed (quoth she) I confess, I am younger than she is, and do want experience: But, I have age enough, and experience to use myself towards my friends and kinsfolks friendly and uprightly; and I trust my discretion shall not so fail me, that my passion shall move me to use other language of her than it becometh of a Queen, and my next kinswoman. Well Monsieur l'Ambassadour, I could tell you, that I am as she is, a Queen allied, and friended, as is known; and I tell you, also, that my heart is not inferior to hers, so as an equal respect would be had betwixt us on both parts; but I will not contend in comparisons: first, you know (quoth she) that the accord was made in the late King my lord and husband's time; by whom, as reason was, I was commanded and governed; and for such delays as were then, in his time, used in the said ratification, I am not to be charged: Since his death my interest failing in the realm of France, I left to be advised by the council of France, and they left mine also to my own council; indeed (quoth she) my uncles being, as you know, busy in the affairs of this realm, do not think meet to advise me in my affairs; neither do my subjects, nor the Queen your mistress, think meet that I should be advised by them, but rather by the council of my own realm; here are none of them, nor none such, as is thought meet, that I should be counselled by; the matter is great, it toucheth both them and me, and in so great a matter, it were meet to use the advice of the wisest of them; I do not think it meet in so great a matter to take the counsel of private and unexpert persons, and such as the Queen your mistress knoweth be not most acceptable to such of my subjects as she would have me be advised by: I have (quoth she) oftentimes told you, that as soon as I had their advices, I would send the Queen your mistress such an answer as should be reasonable; I am about to haste me home as fast as I may, to the intent the matter might be answered; and now the Queen your mistress will in no wise suffer neither me to pass home, nor him that I sent into my realm; so as Monsieur l'Ambassadour (quoth she) it seemeth the Queen your mistress will be the cause why in this matter she is not satisfied, or else she will not be satisfied;

but liketh to make this matter a quarrel still betwixt us, whereof she is the author: The Queen, your mistress saith, that I am young; she might as well say, that I were as foolish as young, if I would in the state and country that I am in, proceed to such a matter of myself, without any counsel; for that, which was done by the King, my late lord and husband, must not be taken to be my act; so as neither in honour, nor in conscience, am I bound, as you say I am, to perform all that I was by my lord and husband commanded to do; and yet (quoth she) I will say truly unto you, and as God favours me, I did never mean otherwise unto her than becometh me to my good sister and cousin, nor meant her no more harm than to myself; God forgive them, which have otherwise persuaded her, if there be any such. What is the matter, pray you, Monsieur l'ambassadour (quoth she) that doth so offend the Queen your mistress, to make her thus evil affected to me? I never did her wrong, neither in deed, nor speech; it should the less grieve me, if I had deserved otherwise than well; and though the world may be of divers judgments of us, and our doings, one to another, I do well know, God, that is in heaven, can and will be a true judge, both of our doings and meanings. I answered, Madam, I have declared unto you my charge commanded by the Queen my mistress, and have no more to say to you on her behalf, but to know your answer, for the ratification of the treaty.

The Queen answered, I have aforetime shewed you, and do now tell you again, that it is not meet, for to proceed in this matter, without the advice of the nobles and states of mine own realm, which I can by no means have until I come amongst them. You know (quoth she) as well as I, there is none come hither, since the death of the King, my late husband, and lord, but such as are either, come for their private business, or such as dare not tarry, in Scotland. But, I pray you, Monsieur l'ambassadour (quoth she) tell me, how riseth this strange affection in the Queen your mistress to wardsme? I desire to know it, to the intent I may reform myself, if I have failed. I answered, Madam, I have by the commandment of the Queen my mistress, declared unto you the cause of her miscontentation already: But seeing you so

desirous to hear, how you may be charged with any deserving, as one that speaketh of mine own mind, without instruction, I will be so bold, Madam, by way of discourse, to tell you: As soon as the Queen my mistress, after the death of her sister, came to the crown of England, you bore the arms of England, diversely quartered with your own, and used in your country notoriously, the stile, and title of the Queen my mistress, which was never by you put in use in Queen Mary's time: And if any thing can be more prejudicial to a prince, than to usurp the title, and interest belonging to them, Madam, I do refer it to your own judgement. You see, such as be noted usurpers of other folks states, cannot patiently be born withal, for such doings; much more the Queen my mistress hath cause to be grieved (considering her undoubted and lawful interest) with the offer of such injury. Monsieur l'ambassador, said she, I was then under the commandment of King Henry my father, and of the King my lord and husband; and whatsoever was done then, by their order, and commandments, the same was in like manner continued until both their deaths, since which time, you know I neither have bore the arms, nor used the title of England. Methinks (quoth she) these my doings might ascertain the Queen your mistress, that that which was done before, was done by commandment of them, that had the power over me; and also in reason she ought to be satisfied, seeing I order my doings as I tell you. It were no great dishonour to the Queen my cousin, your mistress, though I, a Queen also, did bear the arms of England; for I am sure, some, inferiour to me, and that be not on every side so well apparented as I am, do bear the arms of England. You cannot deny (quoth she) but that my grandmother was the King her father's sister, and (I trow) the eldest sister he had. I do assure you, Monsieur l'ambassadour, and do speak unto you, truly, as I think, I never meant, nor thought matter against the Queen my cousin. Indeed (quoth she) I know what I am, and would be loth either to do others wrong, or suffer too much wrong to myself: And now that I have told you my mind, plainly, I pray behave yourself, betwixt us, like a good minister, whose part is, to make things betwixt princes rather

better than worse. And so I took my leave of the said Queen, for that time. Paris, 21st July 1561. [The original is in the Cotton library, Calig. E. v. 87; Cabala, 345.

Throkmorton's Letter to Elizabeth, from Abbeville, 11th Aug. 1561.

When the Queen of Scots had set forward, towards the sea coast, in order to embark, for her own kingdom, she sent to Throkmorton, the English ambassador, desiring him to meet her, at Abbeville. Here, they met, on the 11th of August 1561, where she again talked to him, concerning the methods, whereby she might satisfy his mistress, as to the ratification of the treaty of Edinburgh. Throkmorton wrote an account of this conference, on the same day, in a letter remainining in the Cotton library[h]. He says, that the Queen of Scots having asked him, by what methods she might satisfy his mistress? By confirming the treaty, answered he, as I have more than once told your majesty. To which she replied, I desire you to hear me, and then judge, whether my reasons be not very cogent, which your Queen takes, for vain excuses, and delays. The 1st Art. in that treaty, for confirming the truce, at Cambray, does not in the least concern me: The 2d, which relates to the signing the treaty there made, between the English and Scots, was ratified by my husband and myself; and require not any additional ratification: The 3d, 4th, and 5th Art. are already answered, and fulfilled; *for there are no further warlike preparations; the French garrisons are remanded, from Scotland; the fort, at Aymouth, is razed to the ground;* I have, *since my husband's death, quitted the arms, and title of England;* to *raze,* and *strike them out of all the moveables, buildings, and charters of France are things no ways in my power;* and it is more than I can do, to send back the Bishop of Valance, and Randan, who are no subjects of mine, into England, to confer about the 6th article. As for the last article, I hope my rebel subjects will not complain of any great severity towards them: But, your mistress, I per-

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[h] The original is in Calig. E. v. 94, which is very much injured by the fire: But, it was abstracted by Camden, before that misfortune.

ceive, designs to prevent any proofs, I might show towards them, by resolving to hinder my return. What is there now behind, in this treaty, that can any way prejudice the affairs of your mistress? Nevertheless, to give her the fullest satisfaction, I design to write her about these matters, with my own hand, though she would not vouchsafe me an answer, but by her secretary. But, I would advise you, who are an ambassador, to act suitable to that character; I mean rather to qualify, and compose matters, than to aggravate, and make them worse. Abbeville, 11th August 1561. The Queen of Scots, from delicacy, declined to say, bluntly, that the 6th article, in respect to title, was *in itself void*, for *want of authority*, in the French envoys, who avowed their want of power; 2dly, it was void; because the English negotiators, worded the clause, so as to make the Queen of Scots, *to renounce, for ever, any claim to the English*, crown; when it ought to have been, during *the life of the Queen of England*, and *her lawful issue*. Elizabeth, by catching eagerly at this clause, though void in itself, and persevering so long, in soliciting a ratification of this treaty, which was already executed, showed, sufficiently, how much she wished to profit, from *the knavery of her ministers*. And, because the Scotish Queen, at the age of *eighteen*, had acuteness to discover that *fraudulence*, and resolution, to avoid *the cheat*, Elizabeth hated her, through life; as she had wronged her.

As it is now, sufficiently, apparent, that Burghley's insidious charges were groundless; we may now enquire what were the *indignities*, and wrongs, *done*, and *offered*, by Elizabeth, and Cecil, to the Scotish Queen.

The year 1558 is the remarkable epoch of the marriage of the Scotish Queen to the Dauphin, and of Elizabeth's accession to the crown of England: By the first event, Scotland was identified with France, by the second, England was induced, by the policy, or the prejudice of Cecil, to enter into the most criminal intrigues, both in Scotland, and in France, for the purpose of disquieting, and injuring Francis, and Mary: "If the Queen, and Dauphin," said Cecil, in August 1559, while an insurrection existed, in Scot-

land, " will not grant certain points; then, may the estates " commit the government there to the next heir of the crown: " If the Queen of Scots will not comply; then is it clear, said " he to the Scotish insurgents, that God Almighty is pleased, to " transfer, from her, the rule of the kingdom, for the weal of it." All this was written, by the minister of a foreign power, who had no right to interpose, contrary to treaties, and to the late settlement of the estates of Scotland. *Jacobinism* could not go beyond the guilty reasoning, and seditious conduct of Cecil! Elizabeth, within the same year, entered into a formal treaty, with the heir presumptive of the crown, who was thus incited, to assume the government, in disherison of the sovereign, and in contempt of the law, however contrary to his duty. [Haynes, 253.] What were the charges against Mary, when compared with the conduct of Elizabeth, in raising up a pretender to the crown of Scotland, in opposition to the Scotish Queen, who was, by law, and right, the legitimate sovereign. Elizabeth thus incited, and established a government, in Scotland; quite independent of the Queen thereof; appointed a formal agent, to reside at the pretender's court: sent men, and money, and ships, to support the insurgents, in opposition to the legitimate government, and in contempt of the estates, who had, unanimously, agreed to the marriage of Mary with the Dauphin, and had, thereby amalgamated Scotland, and France. This may have been an *inconvenience* to Engand, but, it was *not an injury*.

When it was perceived, that the presumptive heir was not sufficiently warm, in his own cause, Cecil incited Murray, the Queen's bastard brother, to aim at the crown. From this epoch, Murray was protected, by Cecil, till the bastard pretender assumed the regency of the kingdom, and obliged Mary, to seek refuge in England. But, was such conduct in Burghley right, or was it necessary?

We are now brought back again to the treaty of Edinburgh, which Cecil, and Wotton, negotiated, at that city, in July 1560. Though the French negotiators asserted, truly, that they had no authority to negotiate about Mary's claim to the crown of England, and she did not claim it, till after Elizabeth's demise, with-

out legitimate issue; yet, did Cecil insert a clause in it, which obliged Mary, to bind herself *never to claim the crown of England:* Thus did Cecil, commit two wrongs which were injurious to the Scotish Queen: (1) He negotiated on this important point, with two envoys, which asserted, in the very treaty itself, that they had no power to treat, with regard to the Scotish Queen's title to the crown of England, a conduct this, that is contrary to every principle of diplomacy; (2) Cecil worded his clause, in such a manner, that the Scotish Queen thereby bound herself never to claim the crown of England, instead of an obligation, not to form any pretension to the English crown, during Elizabeth's life. Owing to these two causes, the Scotish Queen, like every other sovereign, having a right to confirm, or reject, an improper treaty, refused her confirmation: And, Cecil, instead of blushing, for his own knavery, formed her refusal into a charge against the Queen of Scots; because she exercised her right of adopting, or refusing a perfidious treaty, which her negotiators had no power to concert.

But, this attempt of Cecil, to swindle the Scotish Queen out of her right of succession to the English crown, after the demise of the existing sovereign, was nothing, when compared with the fraud of imposing a spurious treaty on the Queen, and people of Scotland. The envoys of Francis, and Mary, informed Elizabeth, that they had no power to make any treaty, with the Scotish insurgents, though their sovereigns were willing to grant them pardon, and indemnity. This might, easily, have been done, and ought to have been done, by a clause, in the English treaty, which would have given Elizabeth the power of warranty, and the right of reclamation: Instead of doing this business, as the genuine rules of true diplomacy required, Cecil countenanced a formal treaty, with the Scotish insurgents, which the French envoys avowed to Elizabeth, they had no power to make; and by which, however, they were made, by matchless knavery, to relinquish, in favour of the insurgent faction, their Queen's rights, as Scotish sovereign[1]. The Queen of Scots was never asked to ratify *this impos-*

[1] There is one copy of this supposititious treaty, in the Paper Office, and another

ture: But, the insurgents, immediately, acted upon it, and Elizabeth and Cecil acted with them, as if the insurgents had been an independent state: Indeed, Cecil, in his above mentioned charges against the Scotish Queen, calls *those insurgents* the *Scotish nation;* but, without compunction, or a blush.

When the widowed Queen was to return, from France, to Scotland, Elizabeth, in concert with the same insurgents, sent out a fleet to arrest her progress; but, the Queen's galleys escaped; though some of her transports were carried into the English ports, where they were, for some time, detained. If it were asked upon what principles Elizabeth acted thus? The answer must be, upon the principles, and practice, of the Barbary powers. The refusal of the Scotish Queen to be the dupe of Cecil's artifices, could not justify so strong a measure, as a hostile act. It was an aggravation of that Algerine measure, when Elizabeth, and Cecil, gravely, denied the fact of sending out a fleet, for such a purpose[k].

But, duplicity, artifice, and trick, were the daily practices of Elizabeth's government. She allowed Lord Darnley to visit Scotland; giving him letters of good offices to the Scotish Queen. When Elizabeth clearly saw, that Mary would marry Darnley, Elizabeth denied, that she had ever allowed him to go into Scotland, and recalled him. When she could not prevent this marriage, by any means, but force, she incited her agent, Murray, to raise a rebellion against the Scotish Queen: Yet, were Murray, and his rebellious associates, driven into England, for refuge: And Murray, coming into her court, when were present the foreign ambassadors, she made him deny, that she had, in any manner, incited him to rebel; and she now drove him, from her presence, as a perjured traitor. Against this perfidy, Murray remonstrated, by letters, in vain: She protected him, however, in her kingdom, and

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copy, in the Cotton library. But, no one ever saw the original, which is no where deposited.

[k] The lord keeper Bacon, who knew the fact of sending out a fleet, for such a purpose, mentioned the fact in the cabinet council. This appears in a MS. collection of Bacon's speeches, in my library, and otherwise.

supplied him with money, till the assassination of Rizzio enabled him, to return in triumph.

Of that assassination, Elizabeth, and Cecil, were previously informed, by Bedford, and Randolph: Elizabeth and Cecil, according to their practice, protected Morton, and Ruthven, and the other assassins, till the Queen's majesty, and minister, obtained their pardons, from the facility of Mary. It is apparent, then, that Elizabeth, and Cecil, were accessaries to that assassination, aggravated, as it was, both *before*, and *after*, the fact.

Of the plot, which was formed, when the Queen retired into Edinburgh castle, to wait the time of her *accouchement*, for transferring the sceptre, from the legitimate heir to a bastard pretender, Elizabeth, and Cecil were parties; however immoral *the act*, or odious *the means*.

Elizabeth, and Cecil, knew not, indeed, the detail of the assassination of Darnley; they only enabled Morton, the assassin of Rizzio, by soliciting his pardon, to act, as one of the principal murderers.

But, Elizabeth and Cecil, were fully informed of the subsequent act of the conspiracy, which had, for its end, the dethronement of the Queen, and the coronation of her son. Cecil acted, as the agent of the conspirators, by carrying on their correspondence, with Murray; by supplying him with credit, when he was to retire, from France; and by finding him the means of transport. The revolution, which was thus accomplished, by dethroning the Queen, by crowning her son, and by placing Murray, in the vice-regal chair, was plainly effected, by Elizabeth's government, however injurious to Mary, however immoral were the ends, and disgraceful the means.

When the Queen escaped from Lochleven castle, and tried her fortune in the field, Elizabeth's government took a strong part against the unfortunate fugitive: And Cecil, with his usual perfidy, endeavoured to persuade Beaton, the officer, whom Mary sent to ask for aid, from England, and France, that he ought not to proceed to Paris; as she could have help enough, from London.

The Scotish Queen, whatever were the incitements, which she

may have had, from Elizabeth, made but a very unfortunate choice, when she relied, for safety, and assistance, on her cousin, Elizabeth, rather than the queen mother of France. She was, immediately consigned to prison, whence, she was not delivered, but to the scaffold, and the grave.

It was the deliberate judgment of Knollys, the warden of the Scotish Queen, that, all things considered, it was not easy to perceive, how the Queen's majesty could with honour, and safety, detain the Queen of Scots, *unless she should be utterly disgraced to the world.* In this opinion, concurred Mildmay, and Leicester, with other counsellors of Elizabeth. And, on that judgment, Cecil, generally, acted. They did calumniate the Queen of Scots, in every way possible: But, all calumny is immoral, irreligious, and unlawful. In pursuance of that opinion, Cecil produced a dissertation, to prove, that the Queen of Scots ought to be detained a prisoner: But, when this document was examined, it was found, to be a tissue of falsehood and misrepresentation, of sophisisms and inanity. Such papers, Cecil delighted to write, knowing that he was not to be controverted: Hence, his laxity of facts, and futility of reasoning.

It was the complaints of the Scotish Queen against Murray, and his partizans, for depriving her of her sceptre, without a cause, that induced Elizabeth to propose an enquiry to be held, in England, with regard to the grounds of such complaints. This enquiry, by the unexampled artifices of Elizabeth, and Cecil, was converted into the means of *utterly disgracing the Scotish Queen to the world.*

The enquiry began, at York, after long delays, with religious ceremonies, to give it solemnity, and the administration of oaths, for faithful performance, to the several commissioners. It ended, by Elizabeth's commissioners receiving, *clandestinely*, Murry's assistants, to a private conference, who said of her what was most disgraceful, and read documents, which were forged, or falsified. The result of such clandestine inquisition, however contrary to the oaths taken, for enforcing purity of conduct, was sent to Elizabeth, by her commissioners. What was this, but a gross contravention of their oaths of honesty? What was this, but acting,

knavishly, to supply Elizabeth with calumny against the Queen of Scots.

Elizabeth, and Cecil, were thus enabled to see, how they could wound the Queen of Scots most effectually. They transferred the whole proceedings, from York to Westminster, and from Westminster to Hampton-Court. The same religious ceremonies were again repeated; the same oaths were now taken, by Cecil, and other commissioners; and Murray, with his associates, were incited to charge the Queen of Scots with the murder of her husband. In vain did the Bishop of Ross remonstrate, that Murray had been summoned to answer the Queen, and not the Queen to answer Murray. What cannot artifices, and perfidy, perform? The Scotish Queen, who had protested, that she would not submit to be judged, by any sovereign on earth, was now brought before Elizabeth, and Cecil, on a charge of murder. Whether she answered to this charge, Cecil cared not: Though he had taken an oath of fidelity, like Norfolk, Sussex, and Sadler, he received, as proofs, copies of original forgeries, interpolated papers, and castrated records: He made Murray, and his associates swear, that those documents were all genuine, though Cecil, and his witnesses, knew that they were all false. Elizabeth urged Mary to answer in defence of her character, which had thus been attacked. Mary, with many a sigh, agreed to answer, by showing, that the very men, who had charged her, with murder, were themselves the murderers: She engaged to do this, if Elizabeth would give her copies of the documents, which had been received, in evidence, against her. Elizabeth avowed, that this request was very reasonable: But, never granted what she admitted to be just. As Elizabeth, and Cecil, did not so much want to convict, as to calumniate Mary, they did not trouble themselves, greatly, whether she defended her character, which they meant to blast. At the end of three months, Murray was sent away to Scotland, with his boxful of forgeries, in order to rule a dependent state. The Scotish Queen was at the same time, condemned to closer imprisonment, for life, not as a sacrifice, to justice, but as the object of Cecil's hatred, and Elizabeth's malignity. To the perjury, which Norfolk, and his coadjutors,

had committed, Cecil now added baser subornation. Elizabeth, in her character of judge, acknowledged what was right, yet did she act wrong; though she knew how *even-handed* is justice, yet did she act with squint eyed injury; though she arrogated the king-becoming graces of justice, verity, and temperance; yet, had she no relish of them, when she contemplated a woman, and a queen, her nearest relation, and her next heir, condemned to prison.

Elizabeth, and Cecil, had now obtained all the materials of calumny: and they proceeded to execute Knollys's recommendation, *to disgrace utterly to the world* the Scotish Queen. They caused a thousand libels to be published against her; they distributed Buchanan's *Detection*, particularly, at the court of France; and they obtained, from the French government, an order, that nothing should be published, in France, in favour of the Scotish Queen. Elizabeth, and Cecil, stopped the bishop of Ross's *Defence*, at the press, before a few pages of it were printed: They intercepted the copies of this work, which, having been printed abroad, was seized, when imported into England. By such means, then, did Elizabeth, and Cicil, *utterly disgrace* the *Scotish Queen* to *the world.*

By such calumniation, was Elizabeth's malignity induced to say, on Palm Sunday 1572, "*that the Queen of Scots's head should* "*never be in quiet.*" Hence, the frequent commands from Elizabeth to the wardens of Mary "to keep her close; to keep her "safe:" Hence, also, the frequent negotiations with the captive Queen, which could have no other object, than to raise hopes, that were not to be gratified.

The health of the Scotish Queen now began to fail; owing to confinement, want of air, and want of exercise, which were aggravated, by daily vexation. The right of Elizabeth, for her humour, to deprive the Scotish Queen of her freedom, of her health, and of her quiet, was not explained, and could not be justified.

In the midst of such debility the two houses of Parliament, owing to the intrigues of Burghley, passed an act of attainder against the captive Queen. But, what was this, to the act of Parliament, which owing to the same intrigues, was made to entrap

that imprisoned princess. On this act, was she tried, for her life, owing to the machinations of Elizabeth's ministers; and after defending herself against so many statesmen, and lawyers, with self possession, knowledge, and vigour, was she condemned to die. It was the vice, and villainy, of Elizabeth, which dictated the guilty letter of Walsingham, and Davison, to Paulet, and Drury; intimating Elizabeth's wish, that some way might be found by them, "*to shorten the life of that Queen.*" Beyond this the wickedness of Elizabeth could not easily go.

But, Elizabeth, and her ministers, did go one step further. At the beginning of February 1586-7, they spread reports, that the Papists had fired London, and that the Queen of Scots had escaped: They even carried their artifices so far, as to send out to the several towns, "*precepts of hue and cry for retaking the "Scotish Queen.*" Of this singular fact, there can be no doubt. But, it may well be asked, on what foundation were these falshoods founded. The answer can only be, that as the incitement of Paulet, and Drury, "to shorten the life of the Queen of Scots," had failed, there was another attempt, by the same ministers, to raise universal indignation against the unfortunate Queen; that in the midst thereof, a popular tumult might arise, which, by one outrageous stroke, might close her life for ever. But, they were again disappointed, in obtaining the assassination of the Queen of Scots. When the unfortunate Queen fell under the axe of Elizabeth, the surrounding multitude *sighed and sorrowed*, saith Camden: The Earl of Kent, on that occasion, alone showed his fanaticism, and fury.

We have now perceived the *indignities*, and *wrongs*, done and offered, by the Queen of Scots to the Queen's majesty; as shewn by Burghley: We have, equally, seen what were the *indignities*, and *wrongs*, done, and offered, by the Queen's majesty, to the Queen of Scots. The state papers, and this *life*, evince the facts. The first, or wrongs *to* Elizabeth, when properly understood, will be found, to amount to neither injury, nor wrong, notwithstanding the art, and enmity of Burghley. As to the second, or Elizabeth, and Cecil's wrongs, and injuries, to the Scotish Queen; they

began with her widowhood, and by continual progress, ended with her life, upon the scaffold. One truth is clear, from *the note* of Cecil, that while Elizabeth was, in the act, of daily wrong to Mary; the Scotish Queen, by endeavouring to free herself, from imprisonment, did no injury to Elizabeth;

> " *Forgiveness* to the *injured* doth belong;
> " But, *they ne'er pardon,* who *commit the wrong.*"

The Queen of Scots's celebrated letter to Elizabeth, from Sheffield, 8th November, 1582.

The Queen, said Blackwood, at the reported seizure of her son, by Lord Gowry, having received an intimation of her son's captivity, *fell so sick,* that *she thought she should die;* as the English physicians reported, she would, to their mistress; who wanted nothing better; having the son already in her power, or, which was the same, in the hands of people, who were devoted to her: With which the poor mother being greatly agitated, in her mind, *after she had addressed her prayers to God,* put her hand to the pen; thinking to obtain favour from, and to soften the heart of, her cousin, by this address, which I have here subjoined:

Madam,

Upon that which has come to my knowledge, of the last conspiracies executed, in Scotland, against my poor child, having reason to fear the consequence of it, from the example of myself; I must employ *the very small remainder of my life, and strength before my death,* to discharge my heart to you fully, of my just, and melancholy complaints: of which I desire, that this letter may serve you, as long as you live after me, for a perpetual testimony, and engraving upon your conscience; as much for my discharge to posterity, as to the shame, and confusion of all those, who, under your approbation, have so cruelly, and unworthily, treated me to this time, and reduced me to the extremity, in which I am. But, as their designs, practices, actions, and proceedings, though as detestable as they could have been, have always prevailed with you against my very just remonstrances, and sincere deportment; and as the power, which you have in your hands, has always been

a reason for you among mankind; I will have recourse to the living God, our only judge, who has established us, equally, and immediately, under him, for the goverment of his people.

I will invoke him to the end of this my very pressing affliction, that he will return to you, and to me, (as he will do in his last judgment) the share of our merits, and demerits, one towards the other. And remember, madam, that to him we shall not be able to disguise any thing, by the paint, and policy of the world; though mine enemies, under you, have been able, for a time, to cover their subtle inventions to men, perhaps to you.

In his name, and as before him sitting, between you, and me, I will remind you; that by the agents, spies, and secret messengers, sent in your name into Scotland, while I was there, my subjects were corrupted, and encouraged to rebel against me, *to make attempts upon my person*, and in one word, to speak, do, enterprize, and execute that, which has come to the said country, during my troubles[1]. Of which I will not at present specify other proof, than that, which I have gained of it, by the confession of one, who was afterwards amongst those, that were most advanced, for this good service, and of the witnesses confronted with him. To whom, if I had since done justice, he had not afterwards, *by his antient intelligences*, renewed the same practices against my son; and had not procured for all my traitourous and rebellious subjects, who took refuge with you, that aid, and support, which they have had, even since my detention *on this side;* without which support, I think, the said traitours could not since have prevailed, nor afterwards have stood out so long, as they have done.

During my imprisonment at Lochleven, the late Trogmarton [Throkmorton] counselled me on your behalf, to sign that demission, which he advertised me would be presented to me; assuring me, that it could not be valid. And there was not afterwards a place in christendom, where it was held for valid, or maintained, except *on this side;* [where it was maintained] even to

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[1] The allusion is to Randolph, the corrupt agent of Elizabeth, in Scotland.

having assisted, with open force, the authors of it. In your conscience, madam, would you acknowledge an equal liberty, and power, in your subjects? Notwithstanding this, my authority has been, by my subjects, transferred to my son, when he was not capable of exercising it.

And since I was willing to assure it, lawfully, to him, he being of age to be assisted to his own advantage, it is suddenly ravished from him, and assigned over to two or three traitours; who having taken from him the effectiveness of it, will take from him, as they have from me, both the name, and the title of it, if he contradicts them in the manner he may, and perhaps his life, if God does not provide for his preservation.

When I was escaped from Lochlevin, ready to give battle to my rebels; I remitted to you, by a gentleman, express, a diamond jewel, which I had formerly received, as a token from you, and with assurance to be succoured by you against my rebels; and even that, on my retiring towards you, you would come to the very frontiers, in order to assist me; which had been confirmed to me by divers messengers[m].

This promise coming, and repeatedly, from your mouth (though I had found myself often abused by your ministers) made me place such affiance on the effectiveness of it; that, when my army was routed, I came directly to throw myself, into your arms, if I had been able to approach them. But while I was planning to set out and find you, there was I arrested on my way, surrounded with guards, secured in strong places, and at last reduced, all shame set aside, to the captivity, in which I remain, to this day, *after a thousand deaths, which I have already suffered from it.*

I know, that you will alledge to me what passed between the late Duke Nortfolk [of Norfolk] and me. I maintain, that there was nothing in this to your prejudice, or against the publick

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[m] Elizabeth appears, from this, to have early formed the design of drawing Mary into England, under the pretence of assisting her.

good of this realm; and that the treaty was sanctioned with the advice, and signatures, of the first persons, who were then of your council, under the assurance of making it appear good to you.

How could such personages have undertaken the enterprize, of making you consent to a point, which should deprive you of life, of honour, and your crown; as you have shown yourself, persuaded, it would have done, to all the embassadours, and others, who speak to you, concerning me?

In the mean time my rebels perceiving, that their headlong course was carrying them much farther than they had thought before, and the truth being evidenced concerning the calumnies, that had been propagated of me at the conference, to which I submitted, in full assembly, of your deputies and mine, with others of the contrary party, in that country, in order to clear myself publickly of them; there were the principals, for having come to repentance, besieged by your forces, in the castle of Edinbourgh, and one of the first among them poisoned,[n] and the other most cruelly hanged;[o] after I had two times made them lay down their arms, at your request, in hopes of an agreement, which God knows, whether my enemies aimed at.

I have been, for a long time, trying, whether patience could soften the rigour, and ill treatment, which they have begun, for these ten years, peculiarly to make me suffer. And accommodating myself exactly to the order prescribed me, for my captivity in this house; as well in regard to the number, and quality of the attendants, which I retain, dismissing the others; as for my diet, and ordinary exercise, for my health; I am living, even at present, as quietly, and peaceably, as one much inferiour to myself, and more obliged, than with such treatment, I was to you, had been able to do; even to deprive myself, in order to take away all shadow of suspicion, and diffidence from you, of requiring to have some intelligence with my son, and my country, which is what, by no right, or reason, could be denied me, and principally with my

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[n] Secretary Maitland.

[o] The laird of Grange.

child; whom, instead of this, they endeavoured by every way to persuade against me, in order to weaken us by our division[p].

It was permitted me, you will say, to send one to visit him there, about three years ago. His captivity then at Sterling, under the tyranny of Morton, was the cause of it; as his liberty was afterwards, of a refusal to make the like visit. All this year past, I have several times entered into divers overtures, for the establishment of a good amity between us, and a sure understanding between these two realms in future. To Chatsworth, about ten years ago, commissioners were sent me, for that purpose. A treaty has been held upon it with yourself, by my embassadours, and those of France. I even myself made, concerning it, the last winter, all the advantageous overtures to Beal, that it was possible to make. What return have I had thence? My good intention has been despised, the sincerity of my actions has beeen neglected and calumniated, the state of my affairs has been traversed by delays, postponings, and other such like artifices. And, in conclusion, a worse and more unworthy treatment from day to day, any thing which I am compelled to do in order to deserve the contrary, my very long, useless, and prejudicial patience, have reduced me so low; that mine enemies, in their habits of using me ill, think this day they have the right of prescription for treating me, not as a prisoner, which in reason I could not be, but as some slave, whose life, and whose death, depend only upon their tyranny[q].

I cannot, madam, suffer it any longer; and I must, in dying, discover the authors of my death, or, living, attempt, under your protection, to find an end to the cruelties, calumnies, and traitorous designs of my said enemies, in order to establish me in some little more repose for the remainder of my life. To take away the occasions pretended for all differences between us, clear yourself, if you please, of all which has been reported to you concerning my actions; review the depositions of the strangers

[p] How does this continue, to lengthen out the dark, and gloomy picture of Elizabeth's conduct to Mary.

[q] What heart is there, but must here feel, for the injured Queen!

taken in Ireland; let those of the Jesuits last executed be represented to you; give liberty to those who would undertake to charge me publickly, and permit me to enter upon my defence: if any evil be found in me, let me suffer it, it shall be patiently when I shall know the occasion of it: if any good, suffer me not to be worse treated for it, with your very great commission before God and man.

The vilest criminals, that are in your prisons, born under your obedience, are admitted to their justification; and their accusers, and their accusations, are always declared to them. Why then shall not the same order have place, towards me a Sovereign Queen, your nearest relation and lawful heir? I think, that this last circumstance has hitherto been, on the side of my enemies, the principal cause of it, and of all their calumnies, to make their unjust pretensions slide between the two, by keeping us in division. But, alas! they have now little reason and less need, to torment me more upon this account. For I protest to you upon mine honour, that I look this day for no kingdom, but that of my God; whom I see preparing me, for the better conclusion of all my afflictions and adversities past.

This will be to you [a monition] to discharge your conscience towards my child, as to what belongs to him on this point after my death; and in the mean time not to let prevail to his prejudice, the continual practices and secret conspiracies, which our enemies in this realm are making daily for the advancement of their said pretensions; labouring on the other side with our traitorous subjects in Scotland, by all the means which they can, to hasten his ruin; of which I do not demand other better verification, than the charges given to your last deputies sent into Scotland, and what the said deputies have seditiously practised there, as I believe, without your knowledge, but with good and sufficient solicitation of the earl my good neighbour at York[r].

And on this point, Madam, by what right can it be maintained, that I, the mother of my child, am totally prohibited, not only

[r] The Earl of Huntingdon, who was then lord president, at York.

from assisting him in the necessity so urgent in which he is, but also from having any intelligence of his state? who can bring him more carefulness, duty, and sincerity, than I? To whom can he be more near? At the least, if sending to him to provide for his preservation, as the Earl of Cheresbury [Shrewsbury] made me lately understand that you did, you had pleased to take my advice in the matter; you would have interposed with a better face, as I think, and with more obligingness to me. But consider what you leave me to think, when forgetting so suddenly the offence which you pretended to have taken against my son, at the time I was requesting you that we should send together to him; you have dispatched one to the place where he was a prisoner, not only without giving me advice of it, but debarring me at the very time from all liberty, that by no way whatever I might have any news of him.

And if the intention of those, who have procured on your part this so prompt a visit of my son, had been for his preservation, and the repose of the country; they needed not to have been so careful in concealing it from me, as a matter in which I should not have been willing to concur with you. By this means they have lost you the good-will, which I should have had for you. And, to talk to you more plainly upon the point, I pray you not to employ there any more such means or such persons. For, although I hold the Lord de Kerri [Cary, Lord Hunsdon] too sensible of the rank from which he is sprung, to engage his honour in a villainous act; he has had for an assistant a sworn partisan of the Earl of Huntingdon's, by whose bad offices an action as bad has nearly succeeded to a similar effect. I shall be contented then, only at your not permitting my son to receive any injury from this country (which is all, that I have ever required of you before, even when an army was sent to the borders, to prevent justice from being done to that detestable Morton;) and that none of your subjects directly or indirectly intermeddle any more in the affairs of Scotland, unless it is with my knowledge, to whom all cognizance of these things belongs, or with the assistance of some one on the part of the most christian King, my good brother; whom, as our principal ally, I desire to make privy to the

whole of this cause, because of the little credit that he can have with the traitours, who detain my son at present.

In the mean time, I declare with all openness to you, that I hold this last conspiracy and innovation, for pure treason against the life of my son, the good of his affairs, and that of the country; and that while he shall be in the state, in which I understand he is, I shall esteem no word, writing, or other act, that comes from him, or is passed under his name, as proceeding from his free and voluntary disposition, but only from the said conspirators, who, at the price of his life, are making him to serve as a masque to them.

But, Madam, with all this freedom of speech, which I can foresee, will in some sort displease you, though it be the truth itself; you will find it more strange, I assure myself, that I come now to importune you again with a request of much greater importance, and yet very easy for you to grant, and release to me. This is, that having not been able hitherto, by accommodating myself patiently so long a time to the rigorous treatment of this captivity, and carrying myself sincerely in all things, yea, even to the least, that could concern you a very little, to gain myself some assurance of my entire affection towards you; all my hope being taken away by it, of being better treated, for the very short time, which remains to me of life: I supplicate you, by the honour of the sorrowful passion of our Saviour and Redeemer, Jesus Christ, again I supplicate you, at once to permit me to withdraw myself out of your realm, into some place of repose; to search out some comfort for my poor body, so wearied as it is with continual sorrows; and with liberty of my conscience to prepare my soul for God, who is calling for it daily.

Believe, Madam, and the physicians, whom you sent me this last summer, are able sufficiently to judge the same; that I am not for a long continuance, so as to give you any foundation of jealousy or distrust of me. And, notwithstanding this, take of me such assurances and conditions, just and reasonable, as you shall choose. The greatest power rests always on your side, to make me keep them; though for nothing whatever would I wish to break them. You have had sufficient experience of my obser-

vance of my simple promises, and sometimes to my prejudice; as I shewed you upon this very point, about two years ago. Recollect, if you please, what I then wrote you; and you will not know how to bind my heart to you so much, as by kindness, though you keep for ever my poor body languishing between four walls; those of my rank, and nature, not leaving themselves to be gained, or forced, by any rigour.

Your prison, without any right and just foundation, has already destroyed my body; of which you will shortly have the end, if it continues there a little longer; and my enemies will not have much time, for glutting their cruelties on me; nothing remains of me, but the soul, *which all your power cannot make captive.* Give it then room for aspiring a little more freely after its salvation; which alone it seeks for at this day, more than any grandeur of this world. It seems to me, that it cannot be to you any great satisfaction, honour, and advantage, for mine enemies to trample my life under foot, till they have stifled me in your presence. Whereas, if in this extremity, however late it be, you release me out of their hands, you will bind me greatly to you, and bind all those, who belong to me, particularly my poor child; whom you will perhaps make sure to yourself by it.

I will not cease to importune you with this request, until it be granted me. And, on this account, I pray you to let me understand your intention; having, in order to comply with you, waited even to the present day for two years, to renew my urgency for it; for which the miserable state of my health presses me more, than you can think. In the mean time provide, if you please, for the bettering of my treatment *on this side*, that I may not suffer any longer; and remit me not to the discretion of any other whatever, but your own self, from whom alone (as I wrote to you lately) I wish for the future to hold all the good and the evil, which I shall receive in your country. Do me this favour, to let me have your intention in writing, or the embassadour of France, for me. For to tie me up to what the Earl of Scherusbery [Shrewsbury], or others, shall speak, or write about it, on your behalf; I have too much experience, to be able to put any assurance in it;

the least point, which they shall capriciously fancy, being sufficient to innovate the whole from one day to another.

Besides this, the last time that I wrote to those of your council, you made me understand, that I ought not to address myself to them, but to you alone (and so to extend their credit and authority only to do me hurt, could not be reasonable; as has happened in this last limitation, in which, against your intention, I have been treated with much indignity.) This gives me every occasion for doubting, that some of my enemies in your said council may have procured it with a design, of keeping others of the said council from being made privy to my just complaints; lest the others should see perhaps *their companions*, adhere to their wicked *attempts upon my life*; of which, if they should have any knowledge, they would oppose them, for the sake of your honour, and of their duty towards you[a].

Two things I have principally to require at the close: the one, that, near as I am to going out of this world, I may have with me, for my consolation, some honourable churchman; to remind me daily of the course, which I have to finish, and teach me how to complete it according to my religion, in which I am firmly resolved, to live and to die.

This is a last duty, which cannot be denied to the most mean and miserable person that lives: It is a liberty, which you grant to all the foreign embassadours; as also all other Catholick Kings give to your embassadours, the exercise of their religion. And even I myself have not hitherto forced my own subjects, to any thing contrary to their religion; though I had all power and authority over them. And that I in this extremity should be deprived of such freedom, you cannot with justice require. What advantage will redound to you, when you shall deny it to me? I I hope that God will excuse me, if, oppressed by you in this manner, I do not render to him any duty, but what I shall be permitted to do in my heart. But you will set a very bad example to the other princes of christendom, to act towards their subjects

[a] The allusion was, probably, to the Earl of Leicester.

with the same rigour, that you shall show to me, a Sovereign Queen, and your nearest relation; which *I am, and will be, as long as I live, in despite of mine enemies.*

I would not now importune you, concerning the augmentation of my houshold; of which for the time that I see remaining me to live in this world, I will not have so much care. I require then from you, only two women of the chamber, to assist me, during my sickness; attesting to you before God, that they are very necessary to me, now I shall be a poor creature among this simple people. Grant these to me, for the honour of God; and show, in this instance, that mine enemies have not so much credit with you against me, as to exercise their vengeance and cruelty, in a point of so little consequence, and depending upon a simple office of humanity.

I will come now to that, with which the Earl of Scherusbery [Shrewsbury] has charged me, if such a one as he can charge me; which is this: that contrary to my promise made to Beal, and without your knowledge, I have been negotiating with my son, to yield to him my title to the crown of Scotland; when I had obliged myself not to proceed in it but with your advice, by one of my servants, who should be directed by one of yours in their common journey thither. These are, I think, the very words of the said count.

I will tell you upon this, Madam, that Beal has not ever had a simple and absolute promise of me; but indeed overtures conditional, to which I cannot remain bound, in the fashion, in which the business is, unless the conditions, which I annexed to it, might be previously executed; about which, so far is he from being satisfied, that on the contrary, I have never had any answer from him, or heard mention of it since on his side. And on this account I remember very well, that the Earl of Scherusbery [Shrewsbury], about last Easter, wanting to draw from me a new confirmation of what I had spoken to the said Beal; I replied to him very fully, that it was only in case the said conditions might be granted, and consequently effectuated, to me. The one and the other are yet living to testify this to you, if they will tell the truth about it. Then seeing that no answer was made me; but, on

the contrary, that by delays and neglects mine enemies continued more licentiously than ever their practices, formed since the residence of the said Beal with me, in order to traverse my just intensions in Scotland, so as the effects have been well witnessed there; and that, by this means, the door remained open to the ruin of my son and of myself; I took your silence for a refusal, and discharged myself, by express letters, as well to you as to your council, from all that I had treated upon with the said Beal.

I made you fully privy to what monsieur, the King, and madame, the Queen, had written to me, with their own hands, upon this business; and I asked your advice upon it, which is yet to come, with which it was in truth my intention to proceed, if you had given it me in time, and you had permitted me to send to my son; assisting me in the overtures, which I had proposed to you, in order to establish between the two realms a good amity and perfect intelligence for the future. But, to bind myself, nakedly, to follow your advice, before I knew what it would be, and, for the journey of our servants, to put mine under the direction of yours, even in my own country; I was never yet so simple, as to think of it.

Now I refer to your consideration, if you knew of the false game, which mine enemies *on this side* have played me in Scotland, to reduce things to the point, at which they stand; which of us has proceeded with the greatest sincerity. God judge between them and me, and avert from this isle the just punishment of their demerits.

Send back again at once the intelligence, which my traitorous subjects of Scotland can have given you. You will find, and I will maintain it before all the christian princes, that no one thing whatever has there passed on my side, to your prejudice, or against the good and repose of this realm; which I affect not less than any counsellor, or subject, that you have, having more interest in it than any of them.

There was a negotiation, for gratifying my son with the title, and name of King; and for making sure, as well the said title to him, as all impunity to the rebels for their offences past; and for replacing every thing in repose and tranquillity for the future, without any innovation of any thing whatever. Was this to take

away the crown from my son? Mine enemies, as I believe, wished not at all that the crown should be made sure to him; and on that account are very content, that he should keep it by the unlawful violence of some traitours, enemies, from all antiquity, to all our family[r]. Was this then to seek for justice upon the past offences of the said traitours, which my clemency has always surpassed?

But an evil conscience cannot ever be assured, carrying continually its fear in its very great trouble within itself. Was it to wish a change in the repose of the country; to procure it by a mild pardon of every thing past, and a general reconciliation between all our subjects? This is the point, which our enemies *on this side* fear, as much show as they make of desiring it. What prejudice would be done to you by this? Mark then, and verify, if you please, by what other point: I will answer to it upon mine honour.

Ah! Will you, madam, let yourself to be so blind to the artifices of mine enemies, as to establish after you, and perhaps against yourself, their unjust pretensions to this crown; will you suffer them in your life time, and look at them, while they are ruining, and so cruelly destroying, those, who concern you so near both in heart and in blood? What advantage and honour can you hope for, in suffering them to keep us, my son, and me, so long separated, and him and me from you.

Resume the ancient pledges of your good nature; bind your relations to yourself; give me the satisfaction before I die, that seeing all matters happily settled again between us, my soul, when delivered from this body, may not be constrained to display its lamentations before God, for the wrong, which you will have suffered to be done me here below; but rather, that being happily united to you, it may quit this captivity, to set forward towards him, whom I pray, to inspire you happily upon my very just and more than reasonable complaints and grievances.

At Sheffield this 8th of November one thousand five hundred eighty-two.

Your very disconsolate, nearest relation,
and affectionate cousin,
MARIE R.

[r] The allusion is probably to the Ruthvens.

MEM. This forcible, and pathetic letter, says a great writer, is rendered obscure, in places, by that, which is incident to all letters, the quick glancing of the mind to, and from circumstances, familiar to the writer, and to the receiver, and therefore noticed in a cursory manner only. But, it has been considered, as so pathetic, and so forcible, that Blackwood inserted it in his MS. history of Mary's sufferings, even before 1585, and actually published it, in his history, so early as 1587. Camden, also, formed an abridgement of it, and placed it in his annals [Origin. i. 332—7; Transl. 276—80.] Dr. Stuart, too, has equally interrupted the course of his narrative with it, after he had spoken of it, in these terms: "When the intelligence of the captivity of her son," he says, "and of the bold proceedings of the conspirators reached "Mary, her care, agitation, and anguish, were driven to the most "affecting extremity: And giving vent to her sensibility, she "addressed a letter to Elizabeth, in which she maintains her dig- "nity, while she yields to her resentments; and in which she "has intermingled, in an admirable manner, the most fervent "protestations of innocence, and the boldest language of expos- "tulation, and reproach. Its ability, and vigour, are uncommon, "and give it a title to survive, in the history of the Scotish na- "tion." [ii. 164] And Mademoiselle de Keralio has published it, a fourth time, in her Appendix, v. 349. But, Camden's abridgement, which I admired much, continues Mr. Whitaker, before I discovered the original, has lost many of the beauties, in the letter, and has ventured to make some additions of his own. Dr. Steuart, also, has formed his copy of the letter, by abridging the abridgement of Camden, by copying his additions, as parts of the original, and by licentiously paraphrasing all. And Mad. de Keralio, not attending to this conduct, and not knowing of the French original, has turned Dr. Steuart's letter into French, and given it to her readers, as the true original. [The French original is in the Cotton lib. Calig. c. vii. 51.] In this manner is history, unintentionally, falsified; and thus has the French letter been translated back into French again. I have given the original itself. I have added to it a translation. I thus, says the vindicator of Mary, take leave of my reader, even in my Appendix,

with a genuine letter of Mary's; which recapitulates the conduct of Elizabeth to her, in all its principal outlines; which shows Elizabeth to us, as we have seen her before, but with an addition of evidence, mean, tyrannical, insidious, and savage; and also shows the soul of Mary to us, at the seeming approaches of death, recollected in its sentiments, earnest in its feelings, maintaining her innocence with awful solemnity, and appealing to that God, before whom she thought she was going to appear, for the vindication of her honour, and the avenging of her wrongs.

From the interesting nature of distress, the elevating force of innocence, and the ennobling dignity of religion; the sick, and dying Mary here appears, with a majesty, before which the low souled Elizabeth shrinks abashed, and confounded. Every honest, and generous feeling of our hearts comes forward to the aid of the oppressed Queen. And we think of her oppression, with disgust, with disdain, and with detestation." [The letter of Mary thus published, in English, is from the translation of her very able vindicator, iii. App. xvii.]

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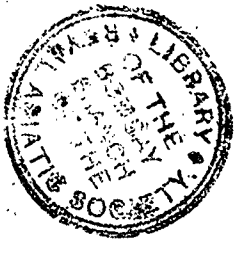
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